# NEW TIMES

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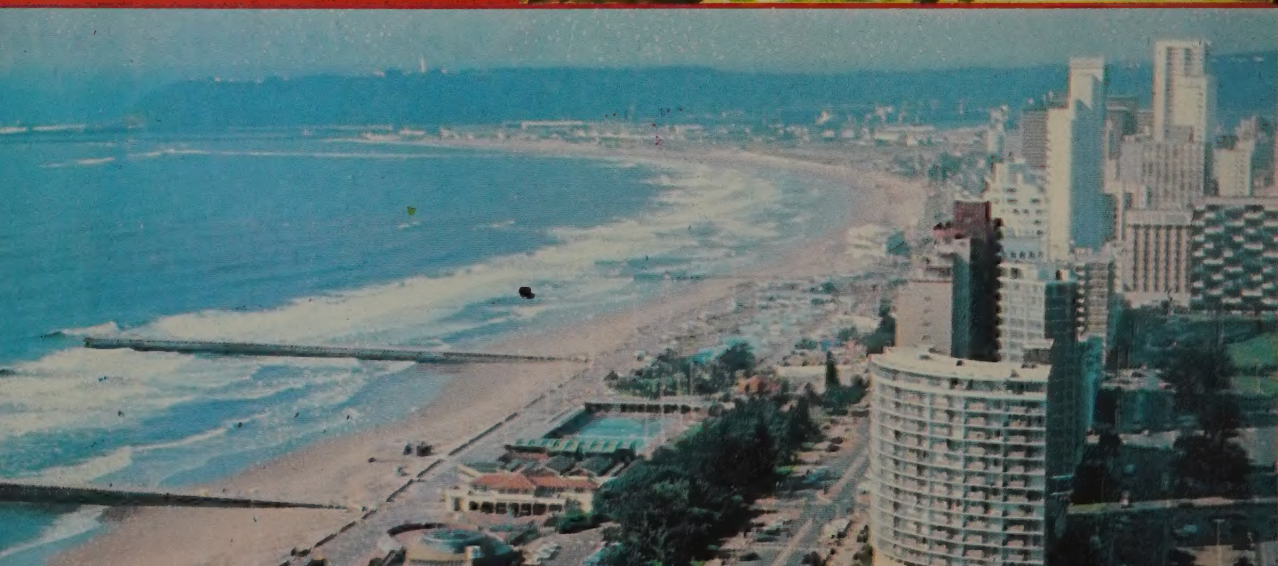

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A SOVIET WEEKLY

# NEW TIMES

No. 1, 1992
Founded 1945

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*Cover by Victor Brel*

"They have taken everything from me..."

The CPSU money for the El Salvador rebels

Our address: Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, USSR. Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67

NEW TIMES

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**We have correspondents in**
Belgrade, Berlin, Bonn, Bucharest, Delhi, London, Mexico, New York, Prague, Pretoria, Rome, Sofia, Stockholm, Tokyo, Vienna, Warsaw

**Founders:**
***New Times* journalists**
Published in Russian, English and German

**Our address: Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, USSR**
**Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67**
**Telex: 411164a newt SU, 411164b newt SU**
**Telefax: 200-42-23, 200-41-92**
**Advertising Department: НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ DESIGN**
**Telephones: 209-92-82, 209-76-52, 209-95-71**
**Printed by Moskovskaya Pravda Press**

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# From our mailbag

■ I read with interest Ganyushkin's "To beat or not to beat" No.43/91. Many authors today call for the complete annihilation of the Soviet bureaucratic upper crust, and rightly so. Without deliverance from this social evil, progress towards civilized society is impossible. However, Ganyushkin does not even hint at how we can get rid of bureaucracy in high places. It is clear that top bureaucrats entrenched in the new democratic bodies of authority must rather be isolated from them, by means of establishing a new democratic machinery of the state. But it is an ultimate goal. In real life things are not so simple.

Any class or section can be destroyed only by force. It appears therefore that in practice democracy does not differ from the dictatorship of the proletariat. But that is not the only point. The authors who call for the annihilation of "the nomenclature of the proletariat" have no clear idea of what the party bureaucracy means. It is a new "class" of "Soviet government and party workers." At one time in official documents they were called "promoted workers" who were appointed to high posts in the administrative bodies. Once a person got into the high echelon of the state and party machinery he circled round in it till his retirement. Moreover, bureaucrats of this kind penetrated into all spheres of public life and became "exponents" of the opinion of "the majority."

These people will not allow themselves to be thrown on the scrap heap. They will "reform" and become, or have already become ardent democrats-demagogues. The party bureaucracy is not the only obstacle to democracy. The democracy functioning with the help of the "nomenclature of the proletariat" will exhaust its opportunities of pure democratic power and turn into its opposite – dictatorship. But it will be the dictatorship of the "democratic nomenclature," and it will spawn. Who will then annihilate it and how. It will be the last tragedy of democracy, but without any farce.

**Your long-time subscriber**
**V.Pochepko,**
**Cand. Sc. (Philosophy)**
St. Petersburg

■ During 25 years of my service in the Soviet Army I never believed in the Marxist-Leninist utopia which was dinned into our heads at political education classes. During this time I met not a single officer who would

## The monologue of a man sentenced to death

■ Several days ago I was arrested in the street, sentenced to death and executed...

Later I got acquainted with the boy who "shot" me from his toy submachine-gun which produced a growling sound when he pushed the trigger. I felt sad when I parted with the boy. What games do we play? Five-year olds play at soldiers, ten-year olds at military games and twenty-year olds fought in Afghanistan.

Why did the Afghan war become possible? Among other things, it became possible apparently because 18-year-old boys **really wanted to shoot.** Since childhood they have lived in the imaginary world in which aggression was ideologically exonerated and ceased to be called aggression. It became evident only later, in Afghanistan, that the pain and blood always remain such.

I have long tried to understand why ideology has become a means of exculpating those actions which in civilized society are called as they should be – killing, deception and plunder. What has happened to us if morals and common sense have been outsted by ideology? What is ideology – the delusion of romantics or the absolution of sins for villains?

What is a game? Psychologists say it is a conditional model of relations which allows man to get rid of the usual moral brakes. One can wipe out half Europe by pushing a button or turn the wheel in the wrong direction and ride into a ditch.

An experiment was once held in an American university. Two groups of students were offered to play the parts of "executioners" and "victims" accordingly. Electrodes were tied to the "victims" and the "executioners" switched on the devices by gradually increasing voltage. The latter were carried away by the game so much that ceased to react to the suffering of their "victims." This is how the imperceptible boundary between a game and life disappears. Children play at games invented by adults, and then children grow up. Life engenders games, and games engender life. There is a connection between a toy submachine-gun and a nuclear precipice.

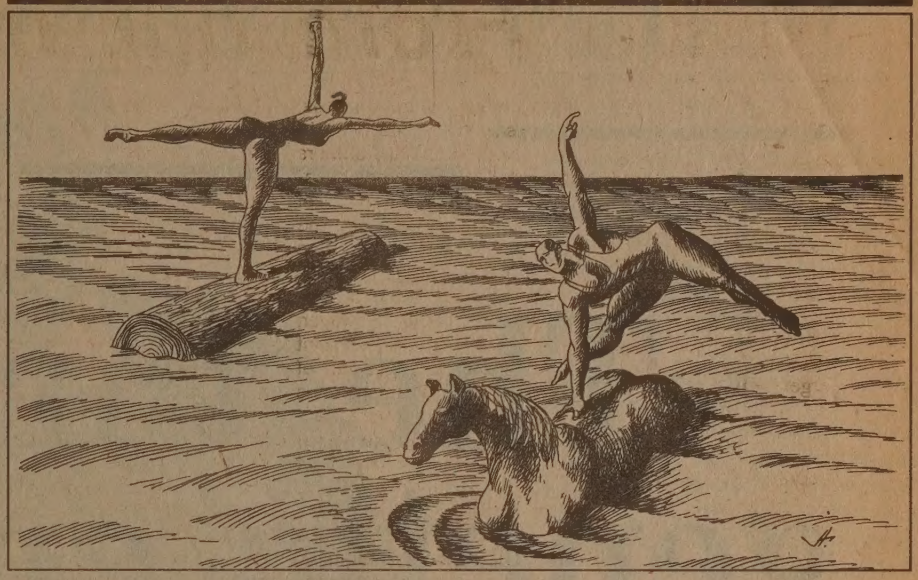
Recently I walked in the street and suddenly heard a wild cry: "Stop, you vile creature, or I'll kill you." I turned round and saw children playing a war game. Beside them were small children and mothers with prams. Do you think that war games are merely an amusement? No, it is a daily training of the aggressive character, hatred confrontational thinking, when the world is divided into "ours" and "others." At first, children from a neighbouring block can be "others." Then Lithuanians or Letts can become "others," and "ours" will crush them by tanks.

I can well imagine a scene from our future life. A mother comes with her son to a children's toy shop and he begins to ask her to buy a small gas chamber for him.

**Andrei Novikov**
Rybinsk

**"The aim of all your articles is to cast slurs on the Army, Stalin, the Communist Party, and our system... People should beware of your magazine"**

**"Don't feel sorry for the lost subscribers: some go, others come"**



*Drawing by Arkady Gursky*

believe in Leninist ideas. But what could we do? Everyone kept silent, for otherwise you would have been crushed by the system. Dissidence was not allowed... Only the monolithic unity of the Party ranks was encouraged.

The Communist Party ideology is based on the annihilation of one class by another, just as nazism advocated the destruction of one nation by another. So it appears that communism and fascism can be put on the same plane. The goal is one – undivided domination of everyone and everything. The criminal Party must be banned for ever. Your author Tatiana Ivanova is right on this point. Why then are new Communist parties allowed to be formed?

**M.Mikhailenko, major (in the reserve), former deputy of a military commissar**
Novoaltaisk

■ The aim of all your articles is to cast slurs on the Army, Stalin, the Communist Party, and our system. I am sick and tired of this. You should look not for enemies, but for associates. You lavishly extol democrats and cooperators and recently began to exculpate the traitor Vlasov (Soviet Army general who went over to the nazis's side during the WWII). It seems you will soon depict fascism in rosy colours. Did you forget about Buchenwald and Maidanek?

"Democrats" may soon oppress dissidents, and you will again change your colours. I am a citizen of my country, a patriot.

I do not sign my letter, because people should beware of your magazine.

■ I would like to support the present course of your magazine. Don't feel sorry for the lost subscribers: some go, others come. I have subscribed for several months. My further subscription depends on how resolutely you will continue the present course in the future. In the formula "*New Times* is an elite magazine for all" I would like to see emphasis on its being elite.

I don't mind the "rugged" language used in your magazine. It is important that it should be adequate to politics. Some political events can now be understood adequately only in terms of "black humour."

I expect of *New Times* greater emphasis on the analytical character of its articles, a profound and unbiassed analysis of events. The current developments cannot often be understood clearly through a thick layer of demagogic foam of all shades. I would like to see a clearer conceptual notion in such an analysis. Concepts can be different, including religious, occult and astrological. They should only have a good prognostic potential and logic. I want your section *Manuscripts Do not Burn* to remain at a high level. And, for God's sake, try to avoid complacency and discover any threatening tendencies at an early stage.

**I.Mokeyev**
Ukraine

***Compiled by* Tatiana Chernova**

## Will democrats hold out in Russia?

■ The democratic revolution which began in 1985 reached its highest point in August 1991. Before the August events, in the confrontation between democrats and conservatives time worked for the former. They were in the opposition and gradually won one position after another. A brilliant victory was scored by the democrats in the presidential election in Russia in 1991. Shortly after that Boris Yeltsin issued a decree on departification. It came as a shock to the Party bureaucracy. It became clear that soon the Party would completely lose its power. It meant that the democrats had to be checked by force.

The successes of democracy have consolidated all conservative forces of the country into a united front. The military-industrial complex feared the conversion of the defence industry. The generals feared a reduction of the Army. The great-power chauvinists feared the break-up of the Soviet Union. The orthdox Communists feared the loss of power. All of them together feared the establishment of a law-governed democratic state.

Our totalitarian system rested on three pillars: the monopoly on ideology, the monopoly on power, and the monopoly on property. The democratic revolution successfully passed the first two stages by breaking the monopoly on ideology between 1985 and 1989 and putting an end to the monopoly on power. Today it has entered a crucial stage. The democrats are facing the most crucial test. They will have to lead the country to a market economy in conditions of a grave economic crisis.

The democrats have inherited a very hard legacy, and it will be considerably more difficult to retain power now. Time is working against them, and the opponents will take advantage of every mistake on their part. The main danger to the democrats is represented not by orthodox Communists. The Party is dead, and it will no longer revive its former power. The deceived and disappointed people will not follow the Communists. The main danger today comes from the national patriots who are already scoring points, playing on the national feelings of people and on hard conditions of life.

Irritation, bitterness and scepticism are growing in society. In factories, offices and queues people are damning Gorbachev, *perestroika*, Communists and, now more often, democrats.

Will the democrats hold out?

**Yuri Lukyanov and Vladimir Lukyanov**
St. Petersburg

POLITICAL LIFE

# The three genetic errors

## Plain decency obliges us to respect all who, albeit involuntarily, toppled the colossus of obscurantism

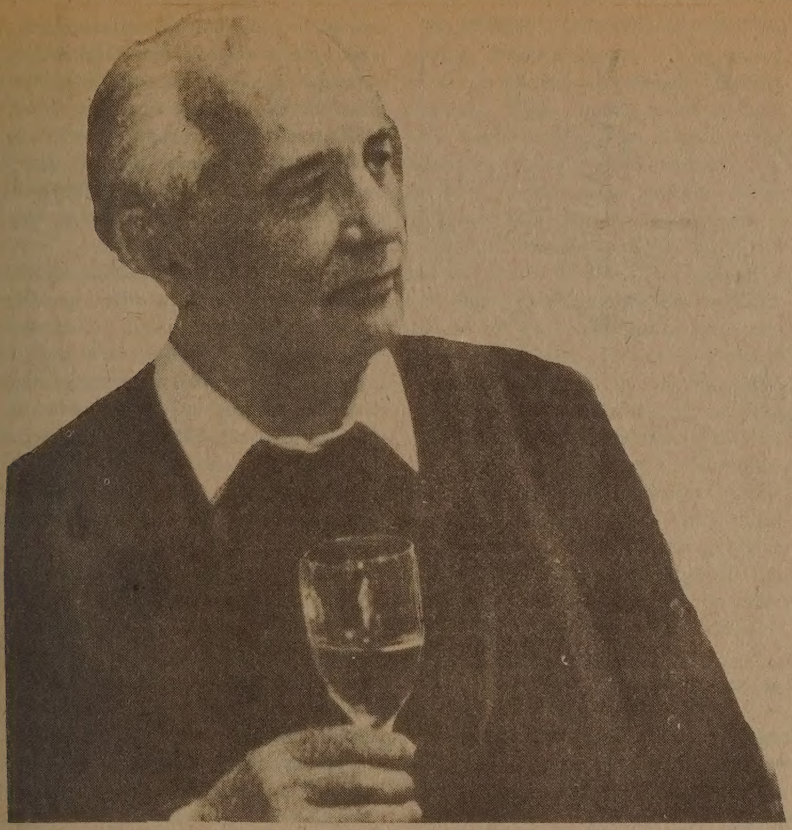
*Adam Michnik,*
Editor-in-Chief, *Gazeta Wyborcza*
(Poland)

I met Mikhail Gorbachev, Alexander Yakovlev and Eduard Shevardnadze in Moscow on one and the same day, however individually, in short snatches. Observing them, I almost tangibly seemed involved in history's race. One chapter is over. Some have shut the door behind them. Running out were the last sands of time for people who for years had headed an atomic superpower, for men whose names had been inevitably frontpaged, evoking fear and yet awakening hope.

I had been invited to a conference devoted to the problem of hate. Serving as the venue was a hotel, which had been built for the CPSU's elite and its guests. The prevailing atmosphere was an odd mingle of impotence, confusion and hazy fright as to what would inevitably be. We were witnessing the demise of communism, that curse of the 20th century, and also the death knell of the Soviet empire that had been the curse of my people. Yet, I did not feel happy. On the contrary, I felt apprehensive.

Out in the street some ladies were vending things they had carried with them from home. They were not the usual type of huckster. What had driven them into the street was evidently need and the fear of hunger. Meanwhile in the Kremlin grounds there climbed steps in front of American TV cameras a brownish bear cub urged c by his tamer. Passers by stopped to watc and laugh at the animal's antics. Foreig tourists flashed cameras. Though the re flag still waved above the Kremlin, Russia flag was hard by. What struck the eye every step was that Russia was changing h skin.

All that remained of the two pi tures of Marx and Lenin on th wall in Gorbachev's study we the nails on which they had been hun Meanwhile, amongst the Americans, th Brits, the Norwegians and the Frenchme in the Reception Camber were two Pole who but recently the Soviet media had du bed agents of the American secret servic They were Professor Bronislaw Gieremе and myself. I studied Gorbachev and as drank in his every word I sensed the a prehension he felt for Russia's future an doubtlessly for his own future too. Befo



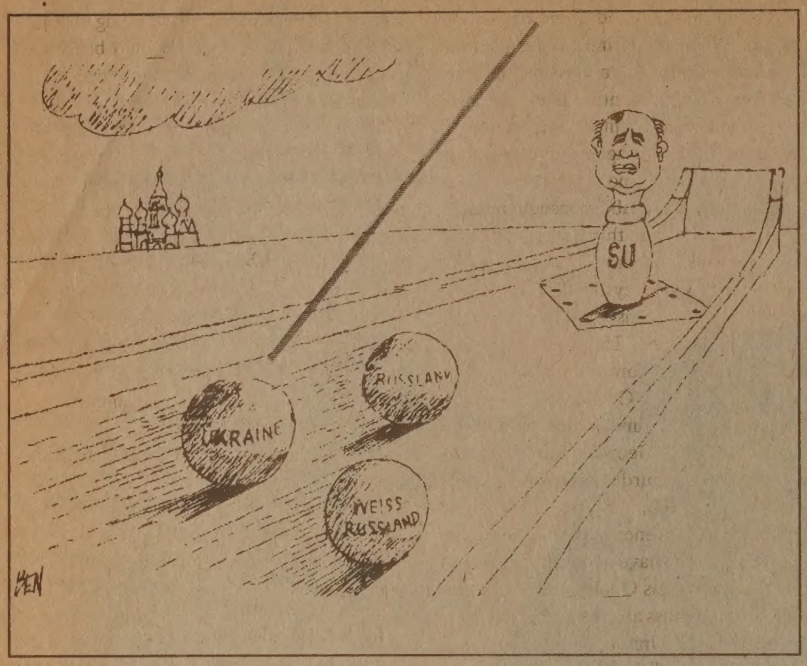
**Perestroika which they had initiated has changed them: they stopped being Bolsheviks, but they remain humans. Their views were attacked from all sides, but their actions were guided by common sense and humanism**

us stood a man who had left his mark on the history of the entire world, let alone his own country. But what haunted me was the thought that his own lot had been a paradoxical one. The only thing that was quite obvious was that his time is past. Nevertheless, his past and future raised questions. What had he been? I had once commented on his book dealing with *perestroika,* which had then seemed to me but a jumble of hollow, Party-nomenclature bombast. Yet the author had always been unusual, as from the very outset I discerned something about him that was uncommon, untypical.

When he took over in 1985, I was still in prison. But a few months later, I sensed a new intonation, new stresses. Externally, it seemed as if he was uttering the same old platitudes and falsehoods as his predecessors. However, they were slanted differently. Then new facts emerged and the notions of *perestroika* and *glasnost* arose, along with the odd declaration that it was essential to publish everything Pasternak and Mandelshtam had composed. When released in August 1986, I inquired of colleagues, more conversant with Russia's problems, as to what actually was taking place. They told me nothing was happening, that this was simply a face-lift for the Americans. Only Andrzej Drawicz (a prominent expert on Russian literature) and Leon Bojko (the *Gazeta Wyborcza* Moscow correspondent) noted that in Russia "something had wobbled." I too felt something moving, something wobbling. Yet, I had seen too much of the futile strainings of the Communist reformers to seriously take Gorbachev's declarations of *glasnost.* Truth to tell, his pronouncements were still vague, while *glasnost* still had its obscure patches.

What tormented me was the question as to what Gorbachev actually was, actor or reformer? Indulging in metaphorical parallels, I thought that if communism was the official Church and Solidarity the Reform movement repudiating the official line for the sake of genuine Christian values, then Gorbachev was a counterreformer seeking to reorganize his Church so that it organically incorporate all the Reform movement's theses and meanwhile preserve this Church and save it from destruction.

Time and again I pestered Russian friends who were in contact with Gorbachev to tell me what he actually was. The best answer came from Andrei G., a member of Gorbachev's team. He said that Gorbachev was an obvious "genetic error." Russia, he




*Drawing from the newspaper Süddeutsche Zeitung (Germany)*

added, has had in her time quite a few as outstanding men, many of whom had been more erudite and gifted. Yet, none had been invested with the genetic code that had brought them up to the very top post. The apparatchik from Stavropol had sought to make of Russia the world's Number One power and the communist regime more operative and humane. Instead, he destroyed both communism and the Soviet empire.

At the start he won the fight against the conservatives for **glasnost.** In but one year, the Soviet media developed a new quality. Next, he restrained the counteroffensive the Party apparatus had mounted. The situation was rather uncommon, as he was introducing the freedom of speech by means of the methods of a Bolshevik functionary. True, that was the only way to overcome the conservatives. A pastmaster at compromise, he was for long able to balance between political extremes. Now for the politician compromise may be both strength and weakness, strength in that compromise overrides fanatic zeal and doctrinaire stupidity, weakness in that compromise is not always needful.

Developments had obviously outrun Gorbachev as for that matter they would have done with respect to all else. He failed to comprehend the consequences of the many things that he himself had perhaps unwillingly provoked and allowed to gather pace. He was inconsistent. Thus, he announced plurality for forms of property ownership, yet could not recognize the peasant's right to own land. He spoke of plurality in politics, but insisted upon the Party's "leading role." He reminded me of the fine sprinter who stops just one metre from the finishing line in the 100-metre dash. He was blind to Boris Yeltsin's rapidly gaining popularity, which he himself whipped up by his own attacks. He did not get his bearings in respect of the Soviet empire's ethnic problems and committed the classical blunders of the "elder brother" in the Caucasus and the Baltics. From some point on, he no longer found a common language with Russia's democrats, unable to perceive the prospects and the dynamics of their movement.

Withal, advancing and retreating, making two steps forward and one back, or one step forward and two back, he secured changes that were truly irreversible. Though nobody yet knows what fate might hold in store for Russia, all agree that the stupendous process initiated in April 1985 is forging ahead. Soviet troops will not return to Afghanistan. The Berlin Wall will not rise once again. Communism will not come back to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Communism has lost out.

As I peered at Gorbachev's tense features, I again realized the tragic paradox his lot has generated. This man had won out in an unhumanly hard fight against the Soviet nomenclature. But at the very moment of triumph he lost out in his own struggle for power, for the empire. Here we are dealing with a paradox common to all Communist reformers. Necessarily naive, they believe in reform, which is why they resolve to take up the cudgels. However, they will defeat the nomenclature only by **destroying** communism and with it themselves and their right to rule.

During those days no Russian wanted Gorbachev for president. His speeches evoked sarcastic resentment. He seemed weak and people who for decades lived in fear and humiliation are more than willing to ridicule reformers who lose. Andrei G. was right when he said that of all leaders in the present sovereign republics, only Gorbachev had been the **non-Bolshevik.** Perhaps that is exactly what permitted him to topple the system, and yet not permitted him to employ violence when it was still not too late to regain tangible power. Red Square did not become Tiananmen Square.

During our brief meeting, Gorbachev constantly noted his fears for the foreseeable future. What scares him is this vast expanse bristling with nuclear warheads. He is also alarmed by the likelihood of a social upheaval after the inevitable price hikes and outbursts of ethnic hatred.

Alexander Yakovlev once told me of the conversation he had had with Gorbachev when the latter was in Canada. They had been out walking, away from the eavesdropping of their vigilant guards. In complete frankness they had underscored the system's absurdity and the need to reform it. I didn't dare to ask either Gorbachev or Yakovlev whether they would have decided seven years ago to take this road, had they known that their reforms would climax in the complete collapse of the Soviet empire and its regime.

Yakovlev is unquestionably one of present-day Russia's most outstanding men. Like Gorbachev, he also exemplifies a "genetic error." A war veteran and marine, he still limps. Though his face is that of the ordinary Russian mužhik, as soon as he starts to speak, he completely transforms. His clear-cutting, analytical mind, logical frame of argument, deep-seated intellect and immense charisma amaze when meeting the man who for years was the Soviet Union's chief ideologue.

As a Bolshevik Party functionary, he was chosen to join the ideological apparatus. In the early 1970s he published an attack on the national chauvinist grouping rallied

around the magazine *Molodaya Gvardia* (The Young Guard). In the upshot of the ensuing row, he was demoted and "exiled" as ambassador in Canada. One day I asked him, how he had come to write this article. Grinning, he said: "I really cannot understand how one can boast of being Russian. Is it to my credit that I was born in Russia? After all, that was due to my parents. So what have I got to boast about?"

After ten years in Canada, Gorbachev brought him back and appointed him chief ideologue. He was responsible for the "thaw" in the media. The stories he tells reveal an element of what one might term "undercover operation." Thus, he helped to get the celebrated motion picture *Repentance* released, helped to bring Andrei Sakharov back from his exile in Gorky, got to the root of the secret protocols attached to the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, traced the NKVD's crimes in Katyn, and gradually broke with Bolshevik ideology, to eventually, on the eve of the August putsch, demonstratively quit the Party, though he was the Number Two man there at the time.

He is as conversant with Lenin's works as the theological scholar is with the Holy Writ. He can produce a quotation for anything, even when Lenin stigmatizes censorship and proclaims political freedoms. He has employed this as a pretty good arsenal for polemics with the conservatives. While in the Politbureau, he sensitively felt his isolation. Everyone there demanded curbs on the media. Gorbachev kept mum. Only Shevardnadze backed him.

Shevardnadze is likewise an obvious "genetic error." First chief of the Georgian Ministry of Home Affairs, he then came to head the Georgian Communist Party. He is known to have assisted the film director Abuladze to semi-illicitly shoot his *Repentance*.

Gorbachev called him to Moscow. At the time when *perestroika* was only beginning, it was rumoured that returning from New York or some other world capital, Shevardnadze had told the customs to thoroughly inspect the luggage of accompanying MFA officials. All caught smuggling were sacked, it was said. Though I do not know how true that is, Shevardnadze came to symbolize a new foreign policy that gradually bridled the aggressiveness to thereby result in the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and all members of the former Warsaw pact to become independent. Which is why he came under heavy attack from the Party apparatchiks, especially in the General Staff.

His intuition suggested where Russia was heading. When tendering his resignation, he issued warning of a possible military take-over. Eight months later, he was proved right when a putsch was attempted in Moscow. Today he again serves warning. He fears runaway mob violence, which might have unpredictable consequences.

This time was our third meeting. I had first met him in Warsaw in the autumn of 1989 when with Mieczyslaw Rakowski's assistance he had consented to a *Gazeta Wyborcza* interview. He carefully picked words and nothing foretold his future perceptive criticism of Gorbachev's policies. We met the second time in Moscow after his resignation. In his Georgian homeland, ex-dissident Gamsakhurdia, who was so firmly in the saddle, had proclaimed Shevardnadze an enemy of the Georgian people. That may have been why he did not want to speak of his Georgia. On the other hand, he did discuss at length developments within the Soviet Union.

He spoke of Polish-Soviet relations, and of his contacts with Jaruzelski, noting how persistently the latter had sought to get the Soviet side to reveal the complete truth behind the Katyn tragedy. He also described his own life, more specifically, how he, a one-time Stalinist YCLer, had risen to the top echelon of power, and how he had come to resolve to stick up for democratic values and convictions.

This time I was accompanying Professor Gieremek on his visit to the Soviet Union's last foreign minister. Shevardnadze knew this would not last long. He was quite sincere, brief and made no attempt to conceal his fears. Before us was a man who had been Gorbachev's uncompromising opponent, but who, in the President's eleventh hour, had rallied to his side. Before us was a man who on the night of the August coup had walked through the tanks surrounding Russia's White House. Before us was a man who had recut the world's political map.

When during recent years the world had been agog at the mere mention of these men, when mountains of praise had been heaped on Gorbachev, Yakovlev and Shevardnadze in the press, I had pointed out, with a maniacal obstinacy , that the real maker of the political processes in the Soviet Union was not this trio but Andrei Sakharov, the shining conscience of Russia and the entire human race.

This defenceless man, who had been deported to Gorky, set the high water-mark for the political and moral standing of Russia's democrats. Indeed, he had been the supreme moral authority for everyone throughout the world and he remains that. However, that self-same historical paradox so ordained that needed to translate Sakharov's ideas into reality were Bolshevik apparatchiks possessing the wrong genetic code, men like Gorbachev, Yakovlev and Shevardnadze who were sufficiently far removed from the moral ideal. Indeed, each of them has been involved in one or another way in events and acts that morally were by no means impeccable. Yet they were the men fated to dismantle communism and the Soviet empire.

Today Russia is ruled by Boris Yeltsin. A born charismatic politician, capable of intuitive, swift response, even though moulded by the Party apparatus in an atmosphere of great-Russian nationalism and of that populist demagogy, of which only recently he himself had been somewhat guilty, he is opening up a new chapter in Russia's history. What will he be? Another Peter the Great, who dragged Russia into Europe by force? Another Alexander II, who sought to graft on to Russia the cultural standard of a law-governed state? Another Kerensky, who ruled Russia for those few months of freedom? Another Lenin, who suppressed that freedom? Or a transient figure who will pave the way for democracy? Or perhaps set the scene for a new autocracy?

Today anything is possible. A huge black hole yawns in the post-communist expanse of Russia, the Ukraine and other countries. For us Poles, the epoch of Great Instability likewise begins.

What does the future hold in store for Gorbachev, Yakovlev and Shevardnadze? Will they be brought to trial for the blood spilled in Sumgait, Tbilisi, Baku and Vilnius? That is quite likely, as they doubtlessly share some of the blame. Yet had the August putsch been successful, Yanayev, Kryuchkov and Yazov would have also brought them to trial, now for the disintegration of the communist system.

Hence I believe our own decency and fidelity to democratic values should oblige us to pay tribute to men, who albeit involuntarily, toppled the colossus of obscurantism.

A phantom is stalking Europe. This is the phantom of the bottomless black hole that yawns in place of the communist empire. Within it we shall need to live together, though enemies yesterday, though butchers and victims before. I spent years relentlessly struggling against the Soviet leaders. Today, as they exit, I wish to be fair.

# Happiness is living

*Tatiana Ivanova*

**My last year prediction came true. Once again I shall be right: we are on the road to something better**

My God, a packaged disposable syringe on sackcloth on the pavement. Next to it are rusty screws, old locks, a package of Indian tea, a thermometer and some sort of pills laid out on oil-cloth. Further on there's an overturned box, almost a counter, and on it is a transparent packet filled with chocolate candy, pink childrens' tights and...

– Please tell me what this is?

– Butter.

– What luck! Thankfully and even happily I pay the salesman. He smiles amiably to me: "Enjoy it, it's fine Lithuanian butter, real fresh!"

A ragged soldiers' coat, a fine mohair sweater, an old radio, a boiler still in its box... I walk on, that's not what I'm looking for. A bookshelf, whortleberries in water, a painted tray, crystal liqueur glasses, little bottles of glue, a sweatsuit ...Aha, there it is:

– How much is the salami?

Hurrah, now I have some salami.

I go along thus making my way through the crowd at the flea market, holding tightly onto my fast thinning wallet. I go along and am amazed: neither the dirt under my feet, nor the squalor of the "counters" – nothing spoils my mood. I'm enjoying myself. It's time I went home and rested and warmed myself – but I'm still here.

It's pointless to tell this to the men who are our leaders – the presidents, premiers, ministers. They wouldn't understand what the matter is or why they should be bothered about such trifles. They mustn't be distracted from deciding global problems on account of such trifles. But women like to go from store to store. Even if they don't buy anything. Just look, admire, imagine, and maybe even try something on. Please, may I try on this dress? Is the dressing room free? Thanks! I don't intend to buy this dress, it's not my color. But I'll put it on, model it before the mirror – and hang it back on the rack. It's as if it were mine.

It's absolutely impossible for a woman to live if she doesn't walk around in stores at least once a week, at least for an hour. But here... We don't have any stores. Nor were there any before. Only the same uninteresting worthless things were always sold in them. But now there's nothing at all. Now there are only the cold and crowded commercial stands where you are greeted at the entrance by the icy glance of the strongman or guard. I don't know how else to call them. Inside the most ordinary imported rags are hung on the walls with price tags up in the four figures. No they aren't stores. The halls of the department stores are half dark and empty: there is nothing on sale except for combs in the haberdashery; in the jewelry section there are only little boxes for rings for sale which are made of brown cardsboard glued together by some invalids' workshop; and you can only get into the section with watches if you have a special invitation... How depressing!

But it's even more depressing when you are in your own kitchen at the stove. What do you put in the saucepan or in the frying pan where there aren't any grocery stores either?

But what is most vexing is that a year ago, on the eve of 1991, I wrote an article for *New Times* about lines. In a store without any products on the shelves whatsoever, I then stood a whole hour for margarine. They were giving two packets to a person. There was no butter, milk, meat, sausage, fish – nothing. The salesgirls, going crazy with nothing to do, gathered behind the counter and complained about their fate: by 1991 not a single state store was to remain in Moscow. We were already late with privatization then. We should have begun it back in June. But the new year was approaching and all was finally decided. It wasn't any fun standing in lines, of course, but there was hope: soon it would all be different...

But nothing came of it. It fell through. Some stores with great agony went over to a lease basis. But a lease is something ephemeral and elusive so much so that for a whole year I never came across a store that was the slightest bit less of one than another.

The grocery stores open in the morning for an hour or two, quickly sell milk to those who stood in line during the night. Or they don't open at all. There are big locks on the doors and the store is dark inside all day. Two weeks before New Year they opened: long gloomy lines formed going into them. There were those who were "special cases". There were food "orders." Food "sold out." God, every word is in quotes. Not a single one of them is real. There aren't any real words which could express what is going on here. The distribution of food has gotten so absurd. We have lived to see the day of unheard of nonsense...

But talk of quick total privatization again spread. And the best economist – the sensible, sincere, honest woman Larisa Piyasheva was summoned by the Mayor. Time to get down to business! There's no putting it off any longer – the city is in a catastrophic situation. But all got bogged down again. Again nothing was done. And now Gavrill Popov has announced he's resigning.

I'm not sure that he has the right to. We elected him, after all. And Yeltsin made Popov his representative in Moscow. But evidently, for some reason he couldn't get enough support and subdue the stormy Moscow City Soviet. How come? One can only guess. Intrigues at the top while the president was too busy?

It's the most stupid thing – Mossoviet can never gather all its members at the same time. Then it (its most disciplined members) declares itself a duma. All right. But the duma can't gather all its members either. But that part of the

duma which does nevertheless come to the sessions without fail irreversibly annuls any decisions of the mayor elected by the people.

Too much democracy? No, just ordinary idiotism.

But our dear salespeople have been using our stores as if they were privately owned for decades. And for many decades they have been selling everything for "bargain prices" at the back door. And in anticipation of free pricing they have simply stopped selling everything. And all the products are sold on the black market. At present the black market is all we have.

If something nevertheless is put out on the counters in the Tverskaya Street region where Moscow administration officials are, the hearty old women get in line three and even four times and take it all to the black market then.

The flea market is the one place in Moscow where you can buy something. No, not even that: it's the one place where you can buy all that is made in this country.

It's amazing, but the authorities with envious persistence send the police to the flea markets and traders rows. The policemen wave their clubs over our heads. There can be no explanation, no justification. People can't stay hungry and half-dressed while the economy is straightened out. It's not a matter of a day, but years!..

With such a total breakdown, with people dashing around the huge empty city in order to simply get the most essential things, the head of the Moscow administration, Yuri Luzhkov demands that all flea markets and traders rows be removed to the outskirts. As if he doesn't know that you often have to wait for the buses in the city under his authority for hours at the busstops, and that you lose all your buttons once you manage to get inside... And the minister of trade of Moscow won't let the Peasant's Union open food stores in Moscow, but demand "technical substantiation." They turn down the Sakhalin entrepreneur who wants to deliver fish to Moscow by plane because there's not enough fish for everyone...

Sorrowful thoughts. I must drive them out.

"Two things have I asked of Thee;

Deny me them not before I die:

Remove far from me vanity and lies;

Give me neither poverty nor riches;

Feed me with the food that is needful for me..."

And one more thing: The main necessities in life are water and bread, clothing and a shelter. And one more thing: Don't let sadness overwhelm you and don't torment yourself with anxiety. Happiness is living...

I remember last New Year eve and all that I told you then. And I was right about everything.

I said that the road ahead would be difficult. But for the better. Taking down the sign on the doors of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU and dismantling a pair of statues was all the Russian revolt amounted to. I hope that after the past difficult year, when we were provoked so many times to the point of killing and bloodshed, my fellow-countrymen finally have faith in themselves and in each other. And I hope that they understand that frightening ourselves is unworthy of us (Boris Yeltsin is right), that it is humiliating. And making apocalyptic phrophesies is a sin. Russia won't plunge into another civil war. There is the memory of people. Just as there will never again be fascism in Germany.

We are on the road to something better, no matter how hard life is right now. It is very good that a treaty has been signed between Byelorussia, the Ukraine and Russia, and that eight other independent countries have already joined it. Let's congratulate ourselves!

It'll be very hard this year to prepare a feast on New Year's Eve. Just as hard as last year. But in the past – remember – it was much sadder. The feast was rather gloomy. Sinister people were still on the rostrums. Those that are now behind bars in Matrosskaya Tishina prison...

But we are starting this year in another country, in another epoch.

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AVIS

## Alexander Rutskoi:

# "The President says Hello to me"

A *NT* correspondent talks to the Vice-President of Russia

**No one could have expected Vice-President Alexander Rutskoi's ever coming out of his charismatic patron's shadow. Vice-presidents of the world seldom play an independent role in politics. When he said that he had a special opinion about the situation in the country, Vice-President Rutskoi became a dissident in the Yeltsin camp**

**New Times.** You have been Vice-President of Russia for six months already. Don't you think it's time to make some preliminary conclusions of the results of your activities in office?

**A.Rutskoi.** Yes, I think so. I have been to a government sitting lately, I saw those people once again. Either they don't know what they are doing, or they have some evil intentions. I can't call them fools – they're all clever and respected people with scientific degrees.

**N.T.** The reason for my asking about the conclusions is, partly, the insistent rumours that you may resign soon. While you toured Iran and Pakistan, Vladimir Lysenko, a Republican Party leader, said you were about to resign...

**A.R.** Lysenko swears he said no such thing. What can I say about such rumours? Gogol expressed it better than anyone: "Russia's got two troubles – fools and bad roads." There's no use paying attention to the fools...

**N.T.** Why do you think such rumours appear? Do you regard rumours as an attempt to bring pressure to bear on you?

**A.R.** Not an attempt, but an organized and well-planned campaign. It is a system. Istead of carrying out systematic reforms, they are engaged in systematic intrigues. Some leaders have become unrivalled intruguers. For example, when I came back from Pakistan, I learned that there had been a presidential decree abolishing all my powers and duties. The structures that had initially been under my control were transferred to the government. The decree was issued on December 19, when the President was in Italy. I wonder at what hour the President signed it.

**N.T.** What were those powers and duties?

**A.R.** I was responsible for the formation of a Centre controlling the process of reforms. Everything possible was done to prevent me from working successfully. I was also in charge of the Committee for Emergency Situations and Civil Defence. Do you know that 500 residential houses in Khabarovsk are left with no heating? All these are serious questions and they have to be attended to. We won't survive the crisis without order and discipline.

Besides, I started to create a tax inspection modelled after the Internal Revenue Service in the US. Even Senators fear the tax people in the US. My intention was to put the taxation system in order, because people have already been robbed... How can economic reforms be successful without tax incentives? The taxation laws should be different from what has been adopted. In its present version the tax law will only discourage the producer.

**N.T.** Vice-Premier Gaydar argues that the high tax rates are the only way to collect enough revenue for the large-scale social programmes adopted by the parliament...

**A.R.** Nonsense... Taxes must encourage production. There must be incentive, there must be interest. People must know what the taxes are used for. Tax revenue expenditure must be public. The people have been fooled enough already.

**N.T.** But to encourage production is not the only purpose of a tax system. Taxes are levied to cover state expenditure. Perhaps, a happier way will be to reduce government spendings?

**A.R.** Taxes should change depending on the situation. No one has the right to ruin the state! A tax that brings the producer down to his knees is no tax! If enterprise does not develop, how are we going to cover price liberalization?

What about the customs? Russia today is a one-way street: everything is being taken out of it, while nothing is brought in. 15 percent of power plants have a five-day supply of fuel. At the same time 2,000 wagons of export-bound coal have been amassed in Vladivostok. I can't understand this. By the way, the Russian state customs service was also in the scope of my responsibilities, but it has been taken away from me too.

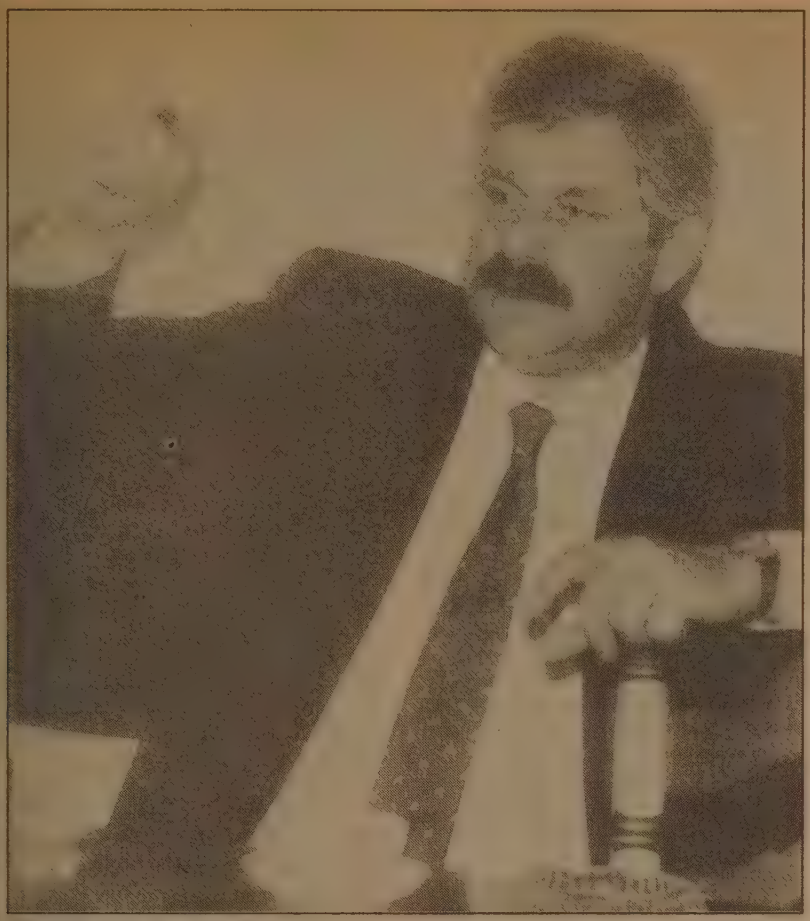
I intended to form the state insurance inspection. Insurance companies are booming, a system of pension insurance is being set up – all this has to be controlled.

The Conversion Committee has also been taken away from me. You see, I've got scale models here – this is a grain farm, and this is a dairy plant... These have already been designed and first such farms and plants have already been produced. Mass production was intended to start in February 1992, but they've taken away this too.

We have worked out a package of documents concerning the National Guard, and planned a reform of Interior Troops. They've taken this away too.

I haven't managed to form a Committee for Protection of Economic Interests. I believe they'll take it away from me too. It is a very important committee, because it will control foreign economic ties and commercial structures.

I planned to create these bodies as those working under the President, not the government, for administrative and control functions should not be combined. Controlling structures' task is to supply independent and objective information.



"They have taken away everything from me..."

I also formed a Commission on Humanitarian Assistance. I managed to staff that Commission with thinking diplomats, experts on the countries where the assistance comes from. I attached a squadron of Ilyushin-76 transport planes to it, and formed a transportation and distribution authority. All this was ruined while I was away on a business trip.

**N.T.** What are you going to do today?

**A.R.** I'll work according to Article 121 (7) of the Constitution: The Vice-President acts on the President's instructions.

**N.T.** This means that everything will depend on the President... Incidentally, how often do you meet?

**A.R.** I've met him today.

**N.T.** Do you normally meet every day?

**A.R.** No, every-day meetings are very problematic.

**N.T.** You have looked somewhat alien to the Yeltsin team from the very start. Is this really so? If it is, how would you explain it?

**A.R.** I have a great respect for Boris Yeltsin. As for his entourage... I have a special opinion on their activity, and I have never made a secret of that opinion.

I haven't forgotten my election promises, because I know what conscience is all about. Other people – not all of them, certainly – pretend they don't remember. During the elections, Boris Yeltsin and I and other deputies were given instructions by our voters. Today, I've understood why the People's Deputies prefer to keep silent. Today I had a look at the pay-list. Why worry or speak up when a committee chairman's salary is as big as a minister's?

**N.T.** Is it three thousand rubles?

**A.R.** I used to think the President and the Vice-President had the largest salaries – four and three thousand respectively. Now I know that some people also get four and three and a half thousand a month...

**N.T.** Actually, three thousand is not really much nowadays...

**A.R.** Try to think about the people whom we gave the 342 ruble minimal pension. Who defined the poverty level, and how was it done? I've got a dream – the best punishment for these people would be to give them 342 rubles a month – let them try and survive on it.

**N.T.** You know better than I do that during the elections politicians are inclined to give promises. When they come to power, though, they have to reckon with the circumstances...

**A.R.** Things are easier for me... I have never been a politician or a Party functionary. I have never worked in the apparat and I have no experience of apparat intrigues. I was a soldier and I fought in a war. Among soldiers things are not what they are in here. If an officer gives his word of honour, he will keep it. That's what makes a soldier different from a politician. I want to be as honest a politician as I was an officer. This may be an unrealistic expectation. However, after the six months of my vice-presidency, no one can say I haven't carried out a promise or have backpedalled on a promise. I have a special book in which I put down my promises. I look through it every morning.

**N.T.** It can't be easy for you to stay in office with your philosophy...

**A.R.** Well, I'm having it pretty hard... You see, I'm almost completely isolated. Everybody's gone to the Staraya Ploshchad headquarters, and I am left here in the White House alone.

**N.T.** Are there any circumstances which could force you to resign?

**A.R.** During the Chechen crisis, the Supreme Soviet recognized the elections there as illegitimate. Twenty commissions visited the Chechen capital, Grozny, the President issued an address to the Chechens, but there was no result. My reaction to such developments is very painful – perhaps, it's a disadvantage of my having been a soldier. I am used to seeing orders carried out. If the parliament takes a decision, it is to be implemented. The President signed the decree on the imposition of a state of emergency, which I helped draft. After that people who claim to be for democracy and human rights started baiting me: you have let the President down, you must resign. I looked at them and thought: perhaps, I would resign some day, but not while you are in power. How can I leave everything to **them**?

They have ruined the Union. It is the President's great achievement that together with other Republican leaders he managed to conclude the Commonwealth Treaty. If only this Commonwealth could work. There is a boom of presidents in Russia, some new states are being created every day. They claim the rights on land, property, natural resources. They intend to set up state banks. They conclude direct agreements with republics which are not members of the Russian Federation. The government does not know about this. They make commercial deals with foreign states. The government does not know about this either. Let us look back at the ages of Russian history. Where were these states? I don't recall any of them. Who gave them the right to cut Russia into pieces, the Russia our ancestors worked so hard to create?

**N.T.** That's quite a rhetorical question.

**A.R.** Not at all. Here is what Vladimir Maximov writes: "It is impossible to introduce free market relations without legal civil and political order. In the conditions of anarchy such a measure can bring about un-

predictable consequences." And he further writes: "What is happening now in the country has nothing in common with the civilized state. No civilized state allows pornography to be sold in the streets... In a civilized country, a policeman shoots without warning if he spots an armed man. In Russia, people will soon start take Kalashnikov submachine-guns along any time they go to buy bread. What is happening in here is not democracy, but the worst, most humiliating and repulsive type of dictatorship – dictatorship of the street mob." It is impossible to go over from dictatorship to democracy. There must be some period of strong and firm rule. I would add, though, that such a rule must be controlled by democratic institutions.

Reforms should be consistent and logical. Prices cannot be liberalized before land is privatized and distributed among farmers – this is not my idea. This is an idea of the modern civilization. What kind of liberalization can there be when the market is empty and 98 percent of enterprises belong to the state? State enterprises must be served by a state system of planning, material and technical supply. In our case state enterprises are suggested to buy everything they need from commodity exchanges where the prices are five to six times as high as the state ones.

I look at our government – they are nice boys... But you can't learn life and you can't learn production in a library. They think that the government should regulate macroeconomic processes, not control concrete branches. That's exactly what I don't want to be responsible for: macro-economic regulation. If they think they won't be held responsible, they are in error – they will.

**N.T.** In principle, though, the government's task is to define the economic policy...

**A.R.** I agree... But there was no free market in August and there is no free market today. Enterprises are abandoned – that's what they call economic reform. The government believes that closing down ministries is all what the economic reform is about. If we continue our fruitless efforts for a month from now, we will be in for losses which won't even compare from what we lost when all the ministries were there.

Three months ago I warned about what is happening to our economy now. You probably remember those speculations about regulated free market. I ridiculed the idea then. There is no regulated free market, but there must be regulated **transition** to a free market economy.

Let's take a small example: the commodity exchanges and stock markets. They don't have as many exchanges anywhere in the world, although the West has something to sell and buy. We don't have anything to sell – they are selling and reselling the same things, sending the prices up. Is there any regulation on exchanges? A law? A presidential decree?

The producer gets nothing, while the speculators hoard up millions.

**N.T.** Some time has passed since the Chechen crisis. You've had enough time to think the problem over... Do you still believe that the state of emergency decree was the right thing to do?

**A.R.** I don't change my beliefs. Was there anything that prevented Dudayev from holding free elections? Normal, lawful elections? If people like Dudayev are encouraged to ignore the law... He has decided to form an army – and the call-up is already under way. Can you tell me in what other country anything like that can be permitted?

**N.T.** Evidently, this state does not have enough resources to make everyone honour the law...

**A.R.** There are methods – call them Rutskoi methods if you like. And these methods can stop the disintegration of the state. True, these are tough methods, but what would you like? They are tough, but they make it possible to create normal conditions for the people, so that they felt secure and dignified.

**N.T.** You say you've met Yeltsin today. Did you discuss economic reforms?

**A.R.** You can't call it a meeting. He didn't even say Hello to me...

**N.T.** Is this because of your trip to Siberia where you spoke up against price liberalization?

**A.R.** Yes, that's right.

**N.T.** Don't you think you displayed disloyalty to your President when you spoke up against price liberalization in Siberia?

**A.R.** During the presidential campaign of Boris Yeltsin, I ran for office in Siberia. It was not for nothing that I said I remember my election promises. When I came there this time, people started asking me: what do you think you are doing there? People can see that in reality everything goes contrary to our promises. I have not forgotten the sense of shame. I feel uneasy when I meet these people.

**N.T.** How do you see your new role now?

**A.R.** We have set up a joint-stock company. Don't get me wrong: I do not participate in it, I only helped organize it. The company will manufacture turnkey grain farms, meat-packing and dairy plants along the conversion lines. I am the curator of this programme – I have to do something, you understand, although my position is quite a lucrative one: every day I get a lot of invitations to various theatres, receptions, presentations. If I did nothing more, but only attended them, I would have no headache.

**N.T.** At one press conference you said you were a Russian, as opposed to Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov who is a Greek. Many were shocked by this uttering then. *New Times* wrote about this too.

**A.R.** It was a deliberate distortion by the journalists. The subject of discussion was chauvinism and Russophobia, and I said I was a Russian, while Popov was a Greek. Why can't I advocate the interests of Russians, while he advocates the interests of Greeks? And the journalists distorted the meaning.

**N.T.** Do you know that you are sometimes accused of nationalism?

**A.R.** Is there any Russian who is not, when he speaks about the fate of Russia?

**N.T.** Do you think your trip to Iran and Pakistan was a success?

**A.R.** Naturally, I do.

**N.T.** An episode of your talks with the Afghan opposition was shown on TV. I wouldn't say your words were the ultimate example of diplomatic politeness...

**A.R.** Look here. Russia observes all points of the Afghan accords, while the other side keeps ignoring what actually is its only obligation. They invite the Vice-President of a great power and start telling him about why Marxism-Leninism is bad... But, make no mistake, there was tea, and a nice reception and a lot of sweet talk...

Sometimes a politician has to be tough. There is no other way. Hekmatyar came down immediately after my statement, and he had never negotiated with any our politician before.

**N.T.** Hekmatyar the terrible turned out to be a young and good-humoured person.

**A.R.** Why not?.. I told him a couple of jokes. He's got a sense of humour. He behaved himself and never made a single insulting remark. I asked him whether I could talk to some of the Russian POWs and ask him about the conditions, etc. He said: yes, please, you'll meet one tomorrow morning. He brought Nikolai Vyrodov and we spent some time talking. And the TV people quoted my words out of context. They left the first and the last sentences adding them to their own comment. This is not the way things are done when a high-ranking official is involved.

The process of Soviet POWs' release is already underway. We expect three more to be released soon. I won't tell you their names – I'm too superstitious.

***Interviewer* Marina Shakina**

**Editor's note:** The interview was given on December 26. The initial title was "The President doesn't say Hello to me." However, on the day it was prepared for the press, a Vice-President assistant called us and asked that the title be changed. The assistant said the President and the Vice-President were again on speaking terms and Rutskoi was going to move his office to the Kremlin... Luckily, we had some time to change the title...

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AVIS

# Bedevilled with problems

*Simon Kordonsky*

**The military on the marketplace. How much is a kilo of grenades?**

The Armed Forces were the essence of the crumbling empire. Now the empire is breaking up across Eurasia. The Soviet Army pullout from Eastern Europe and the upcoming withdrawal of troops from the North-Western parts of the former empire into the heartland have generated so many problems and given the impetus to so many events that the Cold War is already being remembered as a peaceful spell not only in Moscow, but on both sides of the Atlantic. The Soviet Union as well as its former adversaries have proved unprepared for the geopolitical consequences of the changes in the strategic parity.

The Soviet Army was needed only by the former USSR. As soon as the existence of the USSR was endangered, the top brass and the highest echelons of the military-industrial complex made an attempt at a coup d'etat in order to preserve their Lebensraum. The failure of the coup became the end of the USSR. The failure of the coup became the end of the USSR. The Armed Forces remained practically the only structure which is impossible to fairly and justly divide between the USSR successors. The Soviet Army and Navy now have only one option: either to disintegrate or to peacefully transform into armed forces of the newly-sovereign states. However, some of the basic structures of the Soviet Army and Navy will not find a place in the armed forces of the new sovereign states. What seemed to be a nightmare only a year ago has become a reality today: an army with no central command looking for a new master in order to survive in whatever form.

The Soviet Army and the military industrial complex now constitute a threat to the world as a potential source of proliferation of nuclear and mass destruction weapons and production technologies. At the same time the disintegration of the Soviet Armed Forces is also a threat to those institutions in the world's leading powers, whose only *raison d'être* was containment of missiles, tanks and armies of the Warsaw Pact. Yesterday's enemies are the ones who are most interested in the preservation of their natural adversary with its familiar ambitions and known capabilities. They are used to dealing with our generals at the negotiating table. Few military planners are happy about the prospect of facing a number of new potential enemies whose behavior will be hard to predict.

## Special task force against the Martians

The concentration of mass destruction weapons and delivery vehicles in Russia, as a result of Russia's inheriting the geopolitical functions of the USSR, is a favourable development in the opinion of some NATO politicians and planners, the more so as (if statements from some Russian leaders are to be believed) Russia is willing to join the North Atlantic Alliance. This joining however, may be complicated by the initial concept of NATO as a means of containment of the Warsaw Pact forces. For NATO to integrate with Russia, it will need a powerful enemy that could stand up to the five sixth of the world's military might. So far no such enemy is around. The existing structures are sufficient for neutralizing "terrorist regimes," while the emergence of new power centres in the former territory of the USSR possessing weapons of mass destruction and integrated in potentially aggressive states and alliances of Asia seems to be the matter of a more remote future. The economic and military-political inexpediency of Russia's integration into NATO structures does not reduce the ambitions of new Russian military leaders who go out of its way to demonstrate to the West how much it really needs them. Trying to convince their new masters that they can be very useful, Russian generals sometimes go to extremes, seriously considering such sci-fi movie variants as the use of the Soviet Army potential for the protection of the Earth from meteorides and strangers.

Combat training and professional skills were not among the main qualities of the officer cadres of the pre-coup time. Good Soviet origin, loyalty to the Party, the ability to steal without getting caught, a good nose for the Party bosses' sentiments were valued more than combat experience. The war in Af-

ghanistan and the experience of using the Soviet military tactics in Iraq have shown that the Soviet military doctrine is hopelessly outdated. The Soviet military have shown to the whole world that they are utterly incompetent in wars where no big nuclear stick is needed. Evidently, staff officers, political indoctrination officers and military planners of the nonexistent state should go together with the outdated doctrines they worked out and advocated. However, these military functionaries are reluctant to resign. The top brass who are now either removed from active duty or awaiting new appointments, are still obsessed by visions of a new and successful coup. The recent events – the scandalous statements of Vice-President Major–General Rutskoi during his trip to Western Siberia, the sudden resignation of General Staff Chief Lobov, the demarche of senior officers in one of the General Staff departments, the radical calls of the right-wing press, greater activity of officers' assemblies – suggest that in the beginning of December we witnessed another attempt by the military to return to that sweet situation when they did not have to worry about their future. However, even if the displeasure of the top brass had entered an active stage, the old generals would have hardly come to power. The places of ideologues, organizers and field commanders have already been occupied by younger colonels and major-generals.

## Armed and extremely dangerous

Meanwhile the Armed Forces and the military industrial complex of the former USSR and Russia are swiftly disintegrating. The vectors of this process are in general defined by the main principles of the organization and command of the Armed Forces of the USSR: they disintegrate (and try to reintegrate) into territorial-branch structures similar to military districts and services, but on a smaller scale.

Before the coup the army was under a rigid double control of the political departments under the CPSU and special sections subordinated to the KGB. After the August putsch failed there remained no structure which could control or at least monitor the processes underway in the Armed Forces. Army units greately depend on the local authorities, because in the conditions of the crisis local authorities carry the main burden of providing the army with food supplies. To feed their men, officers have to exchange everything at their disposal for food. Naturally, in such a situation, combat training is out of the question. No division-scale exercise – the main element of combat training – was carried out in 1991. The army is getting ready not to fight an external enemy, but to fight for its own survival in the context of comprehensive crisis of the state.

Branch and service commanders have found themselves in a specially difficult situation, because unlike district commanders they are more limited in the opportunities to support their status at negotiations with the former enemy, have little or no experience in barter deals or trade with the local authorities and do not know where to look for the new masters. Ministries of the military-industrial complex are closely connected with branches and services of the Armed Forces. That is why one can expect that arms manufacturers and their clients will form alliances. It is very possible that a powerful conglomerate will be formed from the enterprises of the former Ministry of General Machine-Building and the commanders of the missile and artillery corps. Such a conglomerate could act as independent factor on the international market offering combat and aerospace equipment to the highest bidder.

Popular scientific magazines have already carried ads of enterprises of the Ministry of Medium Machine-Building offering products of isotope technologies. The nuclear industry's preparedness to appear on the international market is attested to by the recent selling of a nuclear reactor for a US communications satellite and the mysterious appearance on the international market of consignments of Soviet-produced enriched uranium. According to Yevgeny Primakov, head of Intelligence Service, one of the main concerns of his department is prevention of emigration of Soviet nuclear specialists to countries developing nuclear weapons. Soviet nuclear specialists and designers of weapon systems are in great demand in Third World countries and there is no force that could realistically prevent them from being recruited.

The situation with the Soviet Navy and the Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry is no less interesting. The necessity to decommission about one hundred nuclear-powered submarines, whose reactors have worked out their resource, combined with the absence of places where to dump nuclear waste puts the Navy and the Shipbuilding Ministry in a situation with only one way out: the West will have to undertake the maintenance and upkeep of the Soviet nuclear-powered submarine and surface fleet.

Today the Navy has virtually lost control over its bases in the Black Sea and partly, in the Baltic. The Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry has lost its major shipyards in Nikolayev and maintenance bases in the Baltics. Rumour has it that the two departments are looking for a way out and have already found a contractor willing to regear the Admiralty Plant in St. Petersburg for the production of submarine tankers for

transporting dangerous cargo, while the Navy and the Ministry conitue to be reluctant to blaze the trail to the free market. India said it was willing to buy one of the Admiral Kuznetsov-class nuclear-powered aircraft carriers currently under construction at Nikolayev.

The military transport aviation together with the aircraft plants of the Ministry of the Aircraft Industry have already gone commercial. Its intervention to the international market of cargo transportation is quite realistic. The participation of the Air Force command and the leaders of the aerospace industry at the fair in Dubai with the subsequent fly-over to South-East Asia and other promotion measures, shows that the Air Force top brass are starting to understand their new situation in the country and the world. There have been dozens of reports that Soviet-made combat planes were planned for sale to various countries (including aggressive ones). As for leading airspace-design offices' agreements on joint R&D projects with various foreign companies, these do not suprise anyone now.

The leadership of the communications corps and air defence corps is considering the possibility of transferring communications channels and radar detection facilities under joint use with civilian agencies and may soon start selling some of their advance equipment on the home market.

As usual, the infantry is in the worst situation. It was no coincidence that the commanders of the Ground Forces played key roles in the frustrated coup. The Ground Forces and forces attached to them control tens of thousands of medium and short-range nuclear munitions at the division level. If the territorial-branch structure of the armed forces disintegrates, there will be a real danger of tactical nukes' coming under the control of governments of sovereign states. There are very many ways to avoid carrying out tactical nuclear arms elimination agreements concluded between the governments of the USA and the former USSR. Leaders of the newly sovereign states who are busy taking over the armed forces property located in their states' territories will not be the ones to lose the chance to get nuclear weapons.

Social tensions in the ground forces are especially great and are often expressed at the sittings of officers' assemblies, engaged in defending the rights and material well-being of servicemen.

## Soldiers of fortune?

Until very recently, the country used to be nothing but fodder that kept the military-industrial complex (MIC) alive and kicking. Today the MIC lives on the hopes of gaining back the former influence and status of the Armed Forces. Understandably, this is only possible if the old structures of power are rebuilt. The military are cherishing a faint hope that the leadership of Russia will inherit the imperial ideology together with the MIC which is not needed in other sovereign republics. Leaders of the MIC headed by Volsky and Skokov are consolidating around Vice-President Rutskoi, so are General Staff officers and field commanders who hope that the failure of economic reforms will bring them to power. In this strategy, the task of preserving the MIC is closely connected with the task of preserving those army structures which can use the high-tech weapon systems produced by the MIC. The Soviet Army command, the General Staff, the Ministry of Defence of the nonexistent USSR, the Scientific and Industrial Union (which replaced industry departments of the CPSU Central Committee) are working out contingency plans for survival (including the crazy idea of joint production of cruise missiles together with US aerospace corporations). However, the constantly changing situation renders these efforts meaningless. The Russian government plans to cut the purchase of combat materiel suggest the necessity of a qualitatively new pattern of organization of the Armed Forces and the MIC which does not necessarily correspond to the plans of the generals and MIC leaders.

The strategy of survival is connected with the involving of all servicemen, regardless of their rank, in economic activity when the property and materiel of army units and garrisons are sold on a commercial basis. Commanders of military districts are selling organic property, military and military-industrial exchanges are being formed, army structures are buying broker's seats at civilian exchanges. Barter trade between agricultural enterprises and army units has become regular procedure, and a flow of small arms, spare parts, fatigues and canned food goes from the army depots to the one who pays more.

Young men of the conscription age refuse to serve and in major cities the actual call-up falls thirty percent short of the plan. Enlisted men desert from the army and are willing to serve anyone but the Armed Forces. A group of deserters from the Soviet Army has volunteered to join Cossack regiments in the Rostov Region. Deserters also serve in the Azerbaijani OMON. Officers with combat experience and willing to use that experience become mercenaries, and according to some rumours are already fighting in Yugoslavia. Those who do not want to fight, sell anything from weapons to documents. Others become farmers or racketeers, or seek employment with information and analytical enterprises or as bodyguards for those who can afford having some.

Meanwhile, according to the Interior Ministry statistics the number of weapons in private possession has reached three million pieces. Thefts of armoured vehicles, rockets and light artillery pieces do not surprise anyone. Police and security officers who confiscate guns from private persons, do not rush to turn them over to the state, but more willingly sell them or give them to friends or relatives. Weapons are coming to those groups that may soon take over in the country.

At the same time, the country's police and security forces are disintegrating as well. The only force having a stake in political stability in this country today are new businessmen for which the integrity of the economic space is tantamount to survival. Representatives of other social sections understand survival as isolation in and defence of their own economic space. To protect its interests, the business community needs an integrated military structure, while other sectors seek to form local paramilitary groups. A three-level structure of the Armed Forces may appear soon: the strategic forces, possibly under international control; peace-keeping forces for control over territorial and ethnic conflicts; and local armed groups. When *New Times* raised this question in the beginning of 1991 (*NT.* No.2) the would-be putschists reacted very emotionally to it.

We have already grown used to inflation, worthless money, private detective agencies and the constant sense of danger. Very probably we will soon have to get used to private armies and peace-keeping troops operating on the Eurasian expanses.

*Drawings by Victor Bogorad*

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# Knock at my window

*Essentially, I have always been disturbed by one and the same question – how to overcome depression and regain morale?*

N.Berdyayev

*Simon Soloveichik*

WHAT'S GOING ON? Just the same as always – the obvious which is, at the same time, the incredible. One early morning last summer I sat at the table to write my next article of the "What's going on?" series and wrote the first sentence about the impossibility to know what is going to happen the next minute in our country. The very next minute, as if to comply with this sentence, there came tapping on my window. It was a neighbour of mine. I came out. "Your TV on?"

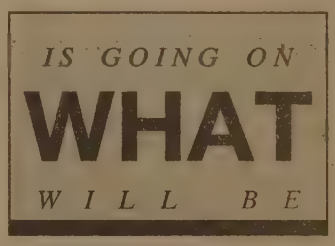
I said I was not in the habit of looking TV in the morning.

"Too bad," said my neighbour gloomily. "You'd better do. Turn it on. Somebody dead. They are broadcasting music."

It was the first day of the putsch.

The most exhaustive answer to the question about what you would wish for your country, would be the following: "I want it to become at last predictable for all, not only for professional fortune-tellers."

It was obvious that a coup was approaching, but that it should break out in such a way and bring about such results was incredible. It is impossible to recover from astonishment up to this day. There had been so many discussions about the ways to get rid of the Party to "smoke out" it from its impregnable fortresses of the district committees with their government hot lines – anything short of an armed assault. The Staraya Ploshchad (Old Square) in the centre of Moscow seemed a real fortress, and no fantasy was enough to imagine that this enormous pimple of stone, this Communist Bastille full of dark mysteries whose walls kept captive the entire country's freedom, would suddenly fall without a single shot. Years and years would have gone to liberate the country from the Party yoke, tons of paper would have been wasted in disputes about the Party's property, but the putsch came and the contemptuous word "to seal up!" resounded all over the country – whose was the happy idea to use this murderous verb, who did guess that it was necessary to fight not against people but against offices? "Seal up!" – and that was the end, in a country where no order is fulfilled before a campaign of many days and weeks is launched, in a country of the incurable hereditory procrastination – wasn't it a miracle? In one day's time, without battles and fight, the sentence was executed, while the undefeatable and omnipotent Party surrendered "to seal" without resistance or a word of protest. A previously obscure geophysicist Yevgeny Savostyanov ordered the inhabitants of the palace in the Old Square to get out and disappear from the building by 5 p.m. of August 23, 1991 – and they did disappear! Completely! By 5 p.m. the premises were clear of them. Maybe, we will henceforward honour Yevgeny Savostyanov, representative of the Moscow City Hall, as we did previously Meliton Kantaria and others who hoisted the red banner over the Reichstag? Anyway, it would be nice if his name remains recorded in history. The assault of the Zimny (Winter) Palace, the fall of the Reichstag and the sealing up of the Central Committee in the Old Square effected by Savostyanov are phenomena of the same order.




Everything happened in one moment, and I heard more than once people expressing their surprise that nobody came to defend the Party anywhere. It's worthwhile to recall for honesty's sake that approximately the same happened in the spring of 1917. "Strange though it may seem," wrote later a prominent philosopher, "but in the entire vast Russia there was no region, no city and, as it seems, not even a village to defend the overthrown Tsar."

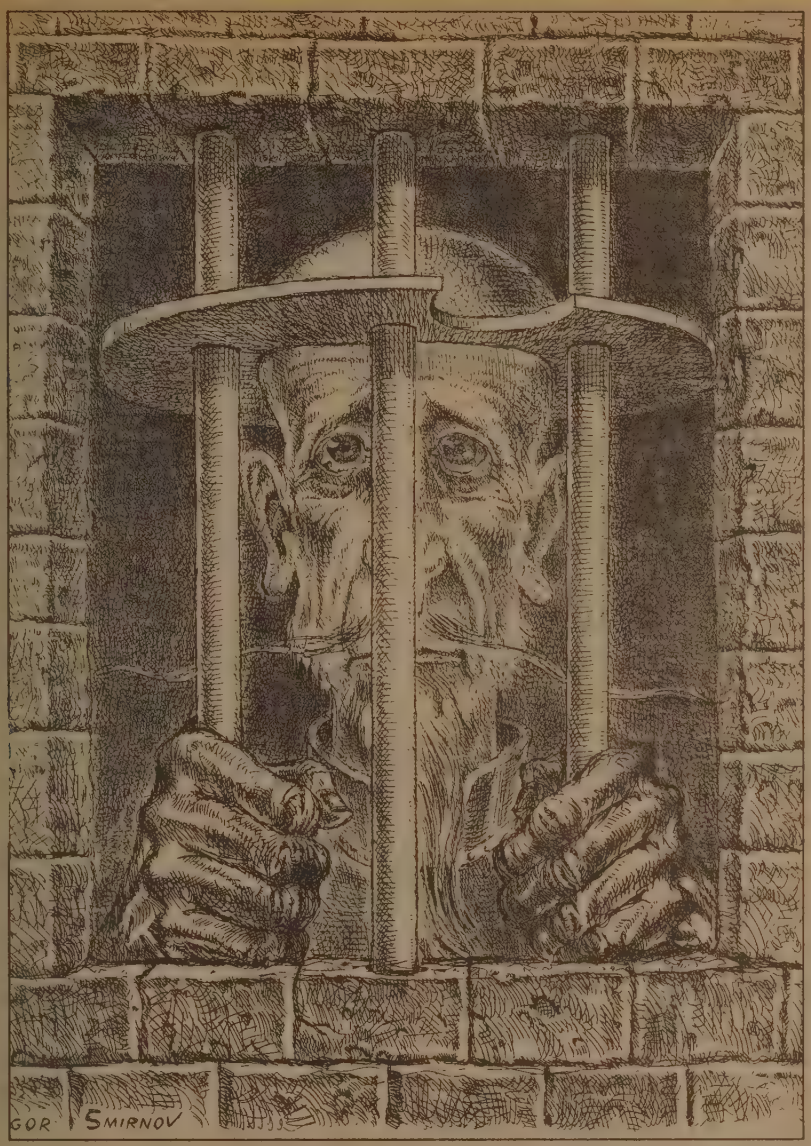
Which means that the time was ripe.

The collapse of the Party was so sudden that so far the meaning of what happened has not yet been fully grasped in this country, although as early as September 2 the American *Time* published a special issue entitled "The Russian Revolution", and a British TV company explained to us on Sundays in an artfully shot film that we, pardon, have a revolution. The Second Russian Revolution.

A revolution? But we have overlooked it. According to the people's profound and, unfortunately, ungrounded belief, revolution is something after which life becomes better.

In the meantime, something similar to a revolution or, as more careful people prefer to say, "political updating" has taken place. Some count the history from 1917 and say that the epoch of partocracy has come to an end; others, more resolute ones, go as far back as the coming of Peter the Great, they believe this is the end of the epoch of bureaucracy. However, one thing is certain – the time of something or someone is over.

But whose time has come?




*Drawing by Igor Smirnov*

Whose power? Who rules the country?

The question of power is probably the most important and the most correctly formulated one. I have borrowed it from a book of an American political scientist, so surprised I was at the simplicity and correctness of its formulation. Only having answered it one can understand, what is really happening in the country.

My late father liked to tell an anecdote about a cosmonaut who was so excited by having been launched that he forgot his code name and repeatedly cried into the mike asking to tell him who he was, untill he received the irritated answer from the earth: "You are Jasmine, you bum!" When my father came across a person unaware of what he or she was worth, or simply a fool, he used to say, "A real Jasmine!"

Alas, we are all a bit Jasmines, we are also crying into the space: "I am, or I have been the USSR, tell me my name!"

And nobody knows what our real name is.

WHAT'S GOING ON? Recently the weekly *Rossiya* published a large photo – the Russian Parliament's wall with the inscription in big letters made on the last day of the putsch: "Long live victorious democracy!"

One can argue a long time about these words, one can even laugh at them, especially at the word "victorious" – nowadays the August victory is universally jeered at.

Well, let's be serious – who exactly has defeated the putschists? This is another version of the question "Who's ruling the country?"

The answer, to my mind, is only one, and it is given in the triumphant inscription: democracy is the victor, democracy about which nobody knows anything and which is not formed into any party. The putsch has failed for many reasons of the most diverse nature, but all these reasons have a common root – democracy. Much is written about weakness of the putschists who failed to do something or other and there are indirect hints to the effect that this testifies to the putsch having been a fake one, a craftily carried out intrigue to crush the Communsit Party. But the putschists, weak or strong, are nevertheless appointees of the new, democratic times, they are far from being the "Iron Felixes" of old. It was not so easy for them to enjail and shoot as before. The putschists were defeated by Gorbachev, and not only in Foros, but even earlier, when he had burried the very notion of "counterrevolution" by replacing it, though not without struggle and the use of subterfuge, first by "socialist" and later by just pluralism. It was also his victory over the putschists when he managed to arrange free elections which provided the only chance for Yeltsin to return to big politics. The putsch was defeated by the Sobchak commission appointed after the events in Georgia – it was the first to lay down the principle of personal responsibility for mass massacres. It does not matter much that this time the culprit remained unfound; what really matters is that the first democratic rule was set – not to shoot at armless people. The putsch was overcome by *glasnost* which afforded Yeltsin's decrees to reach people.

In short, the victory was achieved precisely by democracy, by democratic movement. When young people came to the barricades almost all of them greeted each other; it seemed that already on the first evening they were good acquaintances. They had met at mass rallies so much feared by partocracy (remember? – "Rally democracy," "Stop rallying, let's get down to work!"). It's there that the force developed and formed the live ring impenetrable, by virtue of its very helplessness, for bullets and which made impenetrable the Russian White House itself, in spite of the fact that the special troopers were capable of taking it in quarter of an hour time. Some write that only a few thousand people were around the building of the Russian parliament – no, they were backed by million-strong rallies, and who knows how many people would have gathered there if the events had been covered not by the underground radio station *The Echo of Moscow* alone.

The voting for Yeltsin when the people were faced by the choice – democrats or communists, was a referendum which pronounced in favour of democracy thus sanctifying it legally; the defenders of the Russian White House, whatever their numerical strength, and those who sealed up the Party regional and district committees expressed and fulfilled the will of the majority which had been manifested on the day of presidential elections.

All this is extremely important as an evidence that the will for democracy, weak though it may be, is a reality in our country,

that the words "Long live victorious democracy!" are not merely an enthusiastic exclamaition; they contain the truth: democracy has really come out victorious, it has liberated Russia from partocracy and has come to power. In spite of all jeerings and criticisms of the power; however incorrect it might seem, today power is democratic in its intentions and has been democratically established by the people. For the first time after 1917 the class power which expressed the interests of the only "new class" of exploiters that was the Communist Party in reality, was replaced by the rule of people who, as a whole (as individuals they are different enough) express the interests of the entire people, which has always been the false claim of Bolsheviks.

WHY DOES THE PEOPLE NEED POWER? The notion of democracy is inexhaustible, but this word's original, initial meaning is known to all – power of the people, representative or direct. But why does the people need power? Do I, as an individual, need it? Do I want to participate in it, even in the minutest degree?

To tell you the truth – not in the least. I don't want any share of it, all the more so if that share is negligibly small. I think that the overwhelming majority of people is of the same opinion – why should I need power as long as everything goes right and I have the opportunity to live a normal human life? Why should I assume such a burden? The people are not an individual person, they can't be power-thirsty.

Yet they constantly struggle for power for the simple reason that if they do not dispose of their life, it means that somebody else does and, consequently, they are not free. The power of people has always been considered free, it has ever been the synonym of freedom – this is the first, the most widespead, the most important thing to be said about democracy. Not power as such, not a "cracy" is the *demos* desirous of, but freedom. It probably stands to reason that it's not the people that should rule in a correctly organized state, but freedom. This universally desired power might be called "libertocracy." In actual life the rule of the people, democracy, far from always bring people freedom, but, in all evidence, without it there can be no freedom at all. Anything may happen, and happens, in actual life, but the ideal essence of democracy is freedom for all in all its four main aspects – legal freedom, real freedom, the feeling of being free, and free way of thinking.

Democracy has come out victorious – the people has liberated itself. This is a tautology, both phrases having the same meaning.

Yet liberation and freedom are not the same thing. Liberation is a moment, one can liberate himself, being overwhelmed with hatred against tyranny, but without quite understanding for what or for whom one fights. Liberation is gained by hatred, while freedom is achieved by love. Freedom abides only by those who love and cherish it sincerely, who give it dear presents – tributes of their own freedom, who protect it and cannot imagine living without it. Freedom is free. It is hard to gain, but it evades easily and unnoticed. Everybody comes to power under banners of freedom, yet there is always a place for tyrants too.

Tyranny is a very simple thing, it is retained by a tyrant. However, one person and even one government alone cannot retain freedom, only the people can.

THE THIRD COORDINATE. Three coordinates determine life of any country – power, economics, and ideology.

There is no longer power in its former sense because the habitual principle of its operation has disappeared. Political scientists understand by power "the ability to reach a certain aim in competition with others." The former power used to reach its aims by destroying its potential contenders in embryo, it had great abilities in that matter, and a lot of opportunities. But how must democracy operate if it rejects the principle of destruction of whaterver contenders?

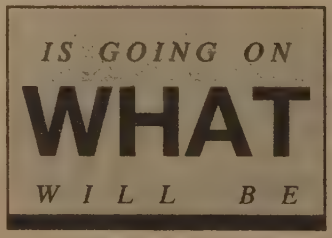
The economics also goes, because it has been backed only by the power which now has ceased to exist.

But what is the most important is that the new power and the new economics require a new ideology. Yet nobody seems concerned about it.

Economists engage in disputes about economic models, political scientists discuss political forms; however, ideologists of a new life do not even leave a sign of their activity.

Now that the time has come at last to recover one's consciousness and realize in which world we live, what are the real values it's worthwhile to strive for, when people all but fight in search of what to believe in and what to hope for, scholars, essayists and philosophers keep silent. No one talks to the people.

Just think – six years of *perestroika,* six years of democratization and discussions of democracy, and not a single booklet treating of democracy and explaining what is this word's meaning in the late 20th century. Nothing relevant in papers, on TV, over the radio – anywhere. As if democracy is a mere badge to be just put on while on the march to a future.




Of course, it is next to unbearable to hear the word "ideology" any longer. The demands to "deideologize" are resounding as resolutely as those to "seal up." And yet, without promoting new ideas and without their propagation, it is impossible to create a new power and new economics, because such comprehensive restructuring cannot be accomplished without the people's participation. And it is at least absurd (if not mean) to lay the blame on the people for the alleged "lack of understanding."

But has anybody ever tried to explain anything to the people? For seventy years it was kept in ignorance while democracy was mocked, and now, on proclaiming democracy, they are surprised at people's lack of discernment.

The third – ideological – coordinate becomes once again nearly a decisive one. However, it can't be otherwise at the turn of epochs in a country's history. If people don't understand what is democracy and what it strives for, it will be crushed and thrown away even before it has a chance to do at least something at all.

DEMOCRACY AND DEMOCRATS. One hears every now and then: "The so-called democrats," "Sick and tired of these democrats!" "Those democrats only engage in nothing but talks and squabble." Democrats are much more mocked today than the Party bosses were in their time. The latter had nobody to compare with, they were feared and exempt from criticism, their ways were kept secret – the life of the authorities was impervious for an alien eye. Now the authorities are in the high light, but not many of common people can endure it. The scene is designed to play on, not to live.

N.Berdyayev has written a booklet entitled *On the Dignity of Christianity and the Unworthy Christians.* Something of the sort can be said in our case too – one cannot judge about the advantages of democracy by personal qualities of those who are its leaders today. Besides, whence democrats in our country? They were shot and imprisoned generation after generation, and our experience of democracy is not measured by centuries as in other countries; our entire experience in this matter is limited to ancient Novgorod and six months in 1917. How can democrats appear from the milieu whose idea of the matter is exhausted by the jumble of notions like "socialist democracy," "bourgeois democracy," "dictatorship of the proletariat as the genuine democracy," "democratic centralism," and "the true people's democracy?" Are we taught democracy in school or in universities? Or has anyone seen this democracy with his own eyes? All public opinion polls show that the majority understands by democracy free elections and freedom of speech and press, i.e. freedom of self-expression, and nothing more than that. Creative freedom is not practically considered.

I've never heard or read anything about the necessity of faith in democracy.

FAITH IN DEMOCRACY. Faith in democracy is the only reliable garantee of freedom; there is no other garantee as has been proved by other countries' experience. Why did Hitler come to power in a quite legal way, by elections? Because, as shown by the polls held since late 1920s, there was no faith in democracy in the tormented country. Unbelief is immoral; immorality always leads to violence, all the more so political immorality.

The word "faith" in this context can be embarrassing; however, besides religions, there are also the so-called "non-theistic" beliefs, for instance, faith in progress of science, or in communism. The same holds true of democracy as well – a great number of people in the world today, believers in God and unbelievers alike, share faith in democracy, a profound and cordial attachment to freedom. Faith in democracy may be so dear to them that they are ready to sacrifice everything to it. Suffice it to recollect academician Sakharov.

One does not want to live in darkness. The faith in communism in which I had been brought up died away as soon as the gate was opened leading to the sanctuary where previously no doubts had been admitted, and we obtained the possibility to discuss topics previously forbidden even to thought. I would like to be converted to the new, democratic faith, but, as many others, I know only too little about it.

Who knows, maybe 1991 will go down in history as the year of birth of a new faith in our country – faith in democracy? And who knows what will become of it in the incoming year – will it spread or will it be first jeered and then crushed?

EARLY IN THE MORNING. O, Lord! Early on a winter morning I sit down at the table to work and suddenly begin to review with my mental eyes what this poor country of ours has lived through, or recollect some of terrible episodes read or heard somewhere; sometimes there comes to my memory the shocking scene from Solzhenitsyn's *One Day of Ivan Denisovich*. Anyone who has read the book will remember with pain Ivan Denisovich, sick and hardly keeping erect, pushed by the guards, coming out from the camp into the darkness of an early winter morning, covering his face with a rag to save it from frosty winter wind; in fact, he didn't live, he tried to save himself, just like our entire country did, and our mother didn't grow us, her two children, didn't bring up but tried to save, from the very first day, and did save us eventually. As I recall all these sufferings of people in punishment cells, overcrowded prison cells and simply in the country, my head is filled with emptiness impenetrable for any thought and it seems dishonest to live. We all remember and discuss problems prompted by the books *What to do?* and *Who is to blame?* and forget a famous at one time book called *When Will the True Day Come?*

This is also one of the eternal questions.

Where are you, my neighbour? Knock at my window; I will run out on the porch in my home dress and you will tell me that everything bad is already gone by, everything is all right now, that the bright future is here, this very minute; tell me that they have announced it on TV; it should be turned on in the morning.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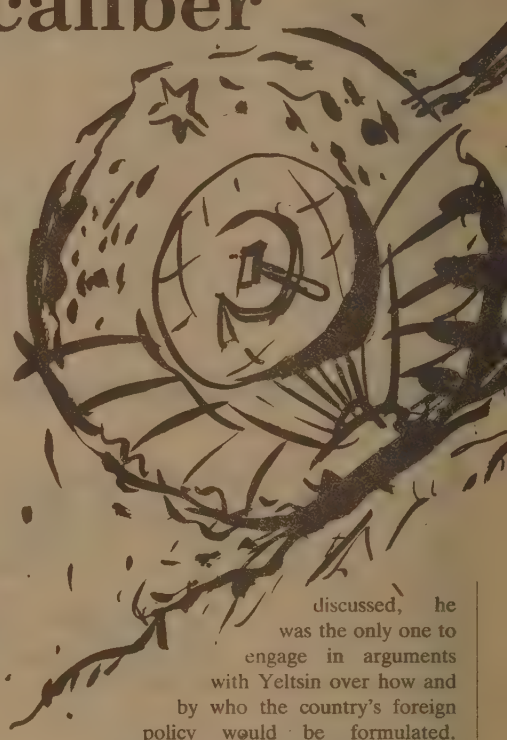
DIPLOMACY

# ...Plus eleven Soviet Unions of a smaller caliber

**The "divorce" between the former Soviet republics has been officially registered. The land and property have been divided. But what will become of its foreign policy?**

*Galina Sidorova,*
*New Times* political analyst



At 3.20 p.m. on December 19 Russian Federation Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Georgy Kunadze called the Union Foreign Relations Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and informed him about the decree Boris Yeltsin had signed before his departure to Rome – the building of the Union Ministry of Foreign Relations in Smolenskaya Square, together with all its personnel, movable and immovable property must be handed over to the Russian Foreign Ministry; a commission was ordered to be formed to supervise transfer of the property.

## Dip the flag!

Simultaneously, another instruction was dispatched to Brussels with a haste comparable only to that with which Gorbachev's portraits had been carried out from some Soviet embassies when the August putsch happened. Russian authorities expressed the wish that the words "Soviet" and "Soviet Union" be removed from the documents discussed at the session of the NATO Cooperation Counsil which gathered in the Belgian capital with the participation of foreign ministers of former Warsaw Pact member states (except the Soviet Foreign Minister– the remains of the country were represented by the ambassador in Belgium.) Ultimately the red flag also disappeared from the hall. Foreign politicians were a bit embarrassed. They did not expect the heroes of August 1991, who had defended democracy and subsequently came to power in Moscow, to be infected with the hectic revolutionary desire to replace attributes of power.

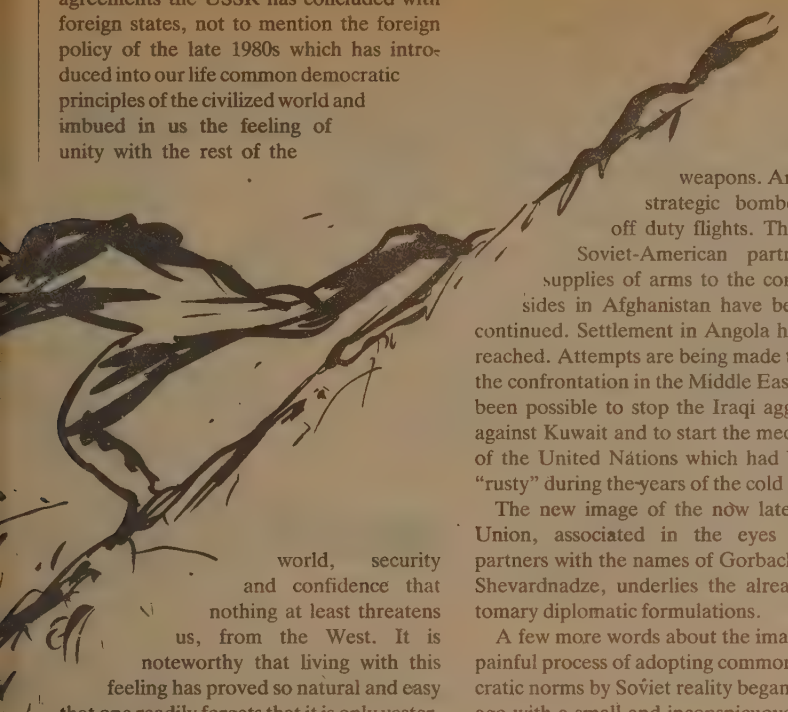
Of course, the tempo of events was, among other things, determined by purely personal reasons – Boris Yeltsin's obvious desire to retaliate against Mikhail Gorbachev for former offences. As for Eduard Shevardnadze, he returned to the Union Foreign Ministry on Russian President's approval, but as early as November 25, at the last session of the State Council where the draft Treaty of Union – then still the Union of Sovereign States – was discussed, he was the only one to engage in arguments with Yeltsin over how and by who the country's foreign policy would be formulated. Shevardnadze's proposal was adopted...

However, after the Russian government decrees were issued, our foreign partners were concerned not so much about our unpaid debts as about the flow of emotions, hasty decisions and mutual suspicion threatening to overflow the newborn Commonwealth too.

Will Russian diplomats, heirs to the Union Ministry and, in fact, its former functionaries, be able to continue the country's progress towards civilization started by the founding fathers of *perestroika* if they receive instructions from leaders still acting in Bolshevik traditions of expropriating, distributing and abolishing? All the more so that the legacy Russian authorities have so readily availed themselves of is not limited to the premises and furniture of the former Ministry, carpets in the embassy in Paris or the historical ambassadorial villa in Rome; it includes not only the people, the greater majority of whom will probably remain in the enlarged Russian

Foreign Ministry – it also includes 15,000 agreements the USSR has concluded with foreign states, not to mention the foreign policy of the late 1980s which has introduced into our life common democratic principles of the civilized world and imbued in us the feeling of unity with the rest of the world, security and confidence that nothing at least threatens us, from the West. It is noteworthy that living with this feeling has proved so natural and easy that one readily forgets that it is only yesterday that Soviet soldiers returned home from the "hot" Afghan war. The country has come back from the cold.

*Drawing by Igor Shein*



## The golden age

The outer peril has faded out, both for "them" and for "us." Our insidious opponents and much-beloved enemies have sunk into oblivion. The Warsaw Treaty Organization has quietly passed away, and the already former Vice-President Yanayev managed to attend its funeral in July. The NATO has survived and is engaged in changing its strategy for that of cooperation with its eastern neighbours and elaborating aid programmes. The United Germans do their best to help the wrecked giant. Structures of European security are being created, an agreement on conventional arms has been signed. In a word, life in united Europe is much more comfortable and secure than in divided Europe.

I believe that the end of the 1980s-the beginning of the 1990s will go down in history as the "golden age" of Soviet-American relations. Our countries have ridden themselves of medium-range missiles and are now reducing their strategic arsenals according to the agreement signed last summer. Washington and, following it, Moscow decided last autumn to begin liquidation of tactical field nuclear weapons. The US Congress ordered the Pentagon to allow $400 million to help our poor country do away with its own tactical weapons. American strategic bombers are off duty flights. Thanks to Soviet-American partnership, supplies of arms to the conflicting sides in Afghanistan have been discontinued. Settlement in Angola has been reached. Attempts are being made to settle the confrontation in the Middle East. It has been possible to stop the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait and to start the mechanism of the United Nations which had become "rusty" during the years of the cold war.

The new image of the now late Soviet Union, associated in the eyes of our partners with the names of Gorbachev and Shevardnadze, underlies the already customary diplomatic formulations.

A few more words about the image. The painful process of adopting common democratic norms by Soviet reality began 6 years ago with a small and inconspicuous breakthrough. At his second encounter with George Schultz, the then US State Secretary, Eduard Shevardnadze, who had been appointed the Foreign Minister, said quietly: "We must make the question of human rights the focus of our discussion." (Gromyko refused point-blank to discuss this seditious matter.) Since then human rights have become a natural topic of Soviet-American talks; political prisoners and dissidents from lunatic asylums began to return home. Moscow joined international conventions on human rights. Former dissidents entered parliaments and governments.

## The great reshaping

Our foreign policy ran ahead of reforms inside the country and urged them on at the same time. Yet it began skidding in the absence of drastic updating of the economy. In addition, political confrontation between conservatives and democrats, the right and the left reached the sphere of foreign policy as soon as the latter began to affect the interests of those sections of the population whose economic and political interests were connected with the existence of an outer enemy and with division of people into leftists and rightists, fidels and infidels. In the year 1991, which began with Eduard Shevardnadze's resignation, three hosts of the cabinet in the Ministry successively replaced one another, not to count the second coming of Shevardnadze himself and the occupying of the blessed chair by Russia's Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev. In spite of the parade of ministers, it has been to some extent possible to preserve pragmatism in general approaches. The August shock put an end to it. It seemed that foreign policy was at last liberated from unnecessary restrictions. Alas, it only seemed so. Foreign policy collapsed together with these restrictions. *Perestroika,* which resulted in the collapse of the totalitarian regime in the Soviet Union became a great reshaping of the sixth of the planet, a scandalous suite of divorce of republics against the Centre with its structures and Gorbachev.

Despite the fact that this reshaping had matured, contrary to the worldwide process of integration (this is probably our eternal fate – following our own path), it was like a bolt from the blue for the West.

Thus, what happened was precisely what had long been dreamt of by pacifists all over the world – the final crash of the confrontation structure. The problem is that the main part of the structure (which, incidentally, incorporated the risks of its own disintegration) began to fall so rapidly that it immediately became a gigantic area of trouble abounding in new perils.

The founders of the Commonwealth radiated optimism at their press conference. Nevertheless, there arise new apprehensions of its inviability.

There used to be one large nuclear state with one nuclear button. Too bad. Now there are four of them (to disregard the fact that tactical nuclear weapons are scattered practically all over the republics of the former Union), which is no reason to rejoice either. It is true that the Ukraine and Byelorussia have declared their desire to become non-nuclear states; however, it will take time. Kazakhstan, although it has agreed to the four handing over the nuclear button to Boris Yeltsin, is not for the time being willing to deprive itself of the nuclear prop. Which means that at least for some time there will be a few nuclear states more in the world.

A centralized strategic command would suit our partners most. But is such a command possible if Russia has already declared its intention to apply for NATO membership the way it was previously habitual to apply for party membership, while the Ukraine is not inclined to join any blocs at all. On the other hand, the Ukraine does not reject the idea of creating its own armed forces. But how could this be compatible with a common command of strategic forces?

It is evident that in the near future the gigantic army which used to hold the neighbours in terror will cease to exist, and

an unprecedented arms reduction will take place, requiring vast expenditures on their destruction which neither Russia nor the other states of the former Union can afford. Will our rich neighbours interested in strengthening their own security be able to assume an additional burden of expenses? Even they may prove unable to. American taxpayers already begin to voice their protests.

It looks as if Russia were the natural successor to the USSR. But how should one regard its claims to the greater part of the Union heritage, to a place in the Security Counsil and all embassies? Is it possible that the Great Russia – this phrase is repeatedly used by Russia's leaders – is going to appropriate the functions of the former Centre? As a result, the mistrust of the West which it has taken so much pains to overcome may be revived on the basis of mutual mistrust of the Commonwealth members replacing their common dislike and suspicion of the Centre.

The longing of the republics for national self-determination and their readiness to overcome all hardships on the path to the desired goal meets with understanding. However, the recent events resemble division of power rather than a victory over totalitarianism. Thus far the big Soviet Union has fallen into eleven Soviet Unions of a smaller size – totalitarian structures, even more tenacious than in the Centre, existed in the provinces too. The will for independence is not identical to that for democracy, which explains why on the eve of New Year's the United States recognized only six out of the eleven independent states – Russia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, Kyrghizstan and Armenia. The conditions on which the West may extend aid, loans and, in future, profitable investments to those desirous of them – are democracy, market-oriented reforms and nuclear control.The possibility to count on support of this kind was provided for by foreign policy of the recent years, and not lastly thanks to the two people who met in Moscow in the dramatic December days.

## Two friends...

Two ministers. Two friends. Two politicians who, by virtue of their personal contribution to Soviet-American relations and the introduction of a new world order, have a special right to sum up – to choose between putting the last dot or dots. They preferred a diplomatic suspense. Both Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker knew that this was their last encounter with the press in this capacity. Both were hardly recognizable – emotion showed on the State Secretary's habitually impervious face. At that moment neither was inclined to dwell on politics but wanted to say some words of warmth about the other, so that we, journalists, could also hear.

For Baker, Shevardnadze is a politician who rejected his ministerial post for the sake of the political line he defended and, in the last attempt to save it, resumed his office, having possibly sacrificed his political future.

For Shevardnadze, Baker is a friend who had assured him at this delicate moment that it was not for nothing that he, Shevardnadze, came back, that he would have never forgiven himself for having failed to do all he could...

## The Christmas surprises

...And one more episode, seemingly unrelated to the matter discussed. Last year sympathizers all over the world staged a Christmas fairy-tale for Soviet citizens. This time they were joined even by the Pentagon and other official agencies. American military aircraft land in Moscow with a cargo of foodstuffs and medicines.

My American friends and colleagues from among the State Secretary's retinue of journalists just stunned me when they noisily broke into my flat with a heap of food and complained that in Baker's plane they were not allowed to use the refrigerator; otherwise they would have brought much more...

So what has happened to us during these six years – to the ministers who have marched through the storms of *perestroika* side by side, to the journalists who got used to not being surprised at anything? Maybe it is precisely in these invisible yet normal and natural human ties which spread over oceans and continents that lies the main foreign policy legacy which must be preserved at all costs in our new life, in our new country? Maybe it will help restore peace and trust in our lame Commonwealth?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Vukovar after recent fighting

*AP – TASS photo*

# Leaders come and go but the war rages on

## The competition in collapse between the USSR and Yugoslavia has ended in a draw

Both states disintegrated almost simultaneously. In the Yugoslavian case, however, the divorce was not at all peaceful. The country was plunged into a bloody internecine war which does not seem to be ending soon. Stipe Mesić, who has been the chairman of the Collective Presidency of Yugoslavia since last July, has declared his withdrawal from that body and announced proudly: "I have carried out my promise: there is no Yugoslavia any longer".

The former premier Ante Marković has also gone without making much noise, although he had had chances to become a key figure integrating the republics on the basis of his ambitious reform programme. However, the national egoism of republics has proved stronger than the economic considerations. Besides, Ante Marković had only one trump card: the support of the West. He was too weak to play on. The premier soon realized that the republics had left him naked and decided to step down in a way similar to Mikhail Gorbachev's recent resignation in the USSR.

Today Yugoslavia is disintegrating formally as well. The Yugoslavian divorce case is being mediated by the European Community. After a series of frustrated attempts at solving the Balkan problem, the European Community decided to formally recognize by the middle of January all Yugosavian republics which will demand recognition. The EC took this decision under strong pressure from Germany which hopes that this way of handling the situation will help avoid further bloodletting.

However, this hope looks rather frail. In case of formal recognition of Croatia which is now the key element of the Yugoslavian crisis, Serbia and the Yugoslavian People's Army may be declared aggressors, which will legalize arms supplies to Croatia. On the other hand, Croatia cannot be sure that it will be recognized in its present borders. As a rule, the border issues are settled after formal recognition on the basis of agreements with the neighbours.

As for Serbia, it is not going to claim recognition, firmly believing that it had been recognized at the 1878 Berlin Congress.

The EC decision to establish diplomatic relations with Yugoslavian republics is seen in Belgrade as interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. Actually, Serbia is facing an unpleasant dilemma: to agree to leave Croatia-based Serbs to live in Croatia, or to declare war against Croatia.

The YPA's position is not very clear either. The military declare that they are defending the republics and peoples which need defence. However, fighting for the Yugoslavian cause, the army also defends itself, because the disintegration of the country will leave the YPA suspended in midair as a military and political factor. The claims that the YPA is defending the socialist ideology are nothing but disguise. To save itself, the army has distanced itself from the Communist doctrine. Defence Minister Veljko Kadïević is not reading Marx's *Capital* any longer. He is more preoccupied with everyday concerns.

One serious problem is that of cadres whose future will be dim when all republics become independent. Serbia alone will not be able to accommodate dozens of thousands of dismissed YPA officers.

While the main actors in the Yugoslavian drama are busy pondering on their next moves, the knot of contradictions is becoming tighter. Croatia-based Serbs have declared their own republic – Krajina. Their logic is transparent: if it is impossible to join Serbia, the best option is to separate themselves from Croatia. However, the chain reaction of separatism is highly dangerous: it can go on for a long time affecting all republics.

Today it is possible to predict with a degree of certainty that eventually all component republics of Yugoslavia will gain full independence. It is not clear, however, how the problem of disputed territories is going to be solved. The EC tends to recognize the inviolability of the existing borders and to grant ethnic minorities a special status supported by international guarantees. However, this variant is not universally accepted in Yugoslavia.

Thinking on the prospects of developments in 1992, many observers arrive at quite pessimistic conclusions. They agree that the war will continue until the sides get utterly exhausted and that new republics, first of all Bosnia and Herzegovina will get involved in the conflict. The belligerents will not start negotiating until they have brought their country to a state of complete chaos.

The Yugoslavian independence ordeal raises a lot of questions. The first and most important one is as follows: if a multinational republic craving for secession wishes to become a mononational republic (that is not a really democraic one), it is in for ethnic strife and violence. If it wants democracy, then there is no point in erecting border fences. This dilemma is topical not for Yugoslavia alone.

*Gennady Sysoyev,*
our own correspondent
BELGRADE

# The reefs of the Persian Gulf

## Mideast oil sheikhs meet in Kuwait to consolidate their alliance, but leave in near disagreement

A state of emergency was introduced in Al-Kuwait to mark the beginning of the 12th summit of the Gulf Cooperation Council. Traffic jams snaked down the streets for miles as security pickets searched each car. The city was believed to be full of Iraqi spies and saboteurs. In a more general sense, Kuwait was demonstrating to the guests that the threat of a new aggression was still there and that the country was still on the front line.

The hosts spread a lavish reception for the summit participants, tactfully hinting that greed was not among Kuwait's features. After the liberation, Kuwait has already given loans to many poor countries of Asia and Africa in the total amount of $372 million.

Kuwait also sent one more signal to the leaders of Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Bahrein, Qatar and Oman: the summit was held in a Bedouin tent. The message was clear: Kuwait had not sold itself to the West and respected the good old Arab traditions.

Actually, to erect the Bedouin tent, Kuwaiti hosts had to invite Jaffar Mohammad Sherif, an architect from Bahrein. The construction effort cost 2,200 thousand Kuwaiti dinars (about $7,216 thousand.) The tent with its silk-lined interior was an impressive piece of architecture and the guests were unanimous in recognizing it as a masterpiece of the Arab world. It was built inside the Bayan Palace. In the centre of the tent there was a round negotiating table. The other premises included 5 sections for journalists accommodating 202, a 300-seat restaurant and a leisure hall. The ceiling was decorated with a three-ton gilded lustre with a Koran quotation. This eighth wonder of the world was built in just 52 days.

The delicate Arabs like to speak in hints and can easily see through the hints other people make to them. The guests got the Kuwaiti message all right. However, no hints were appropriate when the point of discussion was Kuwait's own fate: that must be why the first sitting was closed to the press.

In the first three days of the summit, all Gulf papers carried enthusiastic reports about the growing Arab unity and cooperation.

"Lies as usual," an Arab colleague told me.

Indeed, people of the world's six richest nations have been disappointed by the results of the Kuwait summit. Especially disappointed was Kuwait, the country which absorbed the first strike of the aggressor and actually saved the Gulf states from Saddam occupation. Before the summit, a lot of hopes for a stronger unity was pinned on it, but the summit ended in disagreement, debates and a search for compromise.

The Gulf family turned out to include conservatives, dissidents, separatists, conflicting parties...

Sultan Qaboos of Oman proposed to set up a joint Gulf army numbering 150,000. However, the solution of this issue was postponed until a later time because of the dissident position of Kuwait.

Kuwait has signed a security treaty with the United States and voiced its preparedness to conclude similar treaties with Great Britain and France. Kuwait has every reason to believe that it was not Arab armies that saved it from the Iraqi agression, but the international coalition forces led by the US. When the Gulf War was in full blast, some Arab states suggested that "the American imperialist aggressors" leave the region, letting the Arabs solve the Kuwait-Iraq crisis themselves. It is easy to imagine what the result of such a solution would have been: Kuwait would have disappeared as an independent state, because Saddam Hussein, already in possession of a nuclear potential of his own, would not have displayed much respect for the Arab arguments.

Much pressure was brought to bear on Kuwait during the summit. Its stance was described as unpatriotic. Tehran kept sending provocative signals about the Gulf being sold to the infidels. However, Emir of Kuwait Sheikh al-Ahmad al-Jaber al-Sabah was firm and did not yield to pressure.

The sultan of Oman suggested that Iran be included in the Gulf collective security system. Kuwait and Saudi Arabia opposed the suggestion referring to Iran's not being an Arab country. If one leaves diplomatic politeness alone, one has to admit that the Iranian regime is rather a dangerous friend. During the Iraqi aggression, Iran also claimed parts of Kuwait. That is why Kuwait has every reason to fear its eastern neighbour as much as Iraq.

Many observers were disappointed at the summit's failure to arrive at an agreement on the setting up of a Gulf Common Market. The promises to undertake part of the expenses of the war-damaged Kuwait remained unfulfilled and forgotten. This loss of memory first affected Saudi Arabia, the country that had been saved by Kuwait from the Iraqi invasion.

Saudi Arabia increasingly tends to act as Big Brother for the other Gulf nations, but they do not seem to accept the Saudi patronship and insist on being treated as equals.

The Saudi-mediated dispute between Bahrein and Qatar concerning oilfields in the border area has not been resolved – the richer Qatar refused to make concessions.

Oman was the enfant terrible of the summit. Sultan Qaboos was inclined to ignore the common opinion of the GCC, acting independently and egoistically, primarily proceeding from his own nation's interests. Oman was the only Gulf country which refused to sever its realtions with Egypt after it had signed Camp David peace accords with Israel.

Leaders of Syria, Egypt and the Gulf Cooperation Council convened in Damascus during the Iraqi aggression to issue a joint statement on the strengthening of military and economic cooperation: another joint document which was not actually binding on its signatories. The joint statement came in handy at the Kuwait summit. By shutting the door before Iran, the Gulf Council attached a principal importance to the Damascus Declaration.

The former-times Arab relations ended on August 2, 1990, when Iraq invaded Kuwait. Now the Damascus Declaration is viewed as a new way to a new-type Arab unity. A unity which will not have any room for Saddam Hussein.

*Dmitry Zgersky,*
NT special correspondent
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# Can history be rewritten by force?

**Augusto Farabundo Marti, the founder of the rebel movement in El Salvador, once said: "When it is impossible to write history with a pen it must be made by force"**

The members of the organization named after Marti are loyal to his behests and grateful to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Two shots fired near the children's hospital Benjamin Bloom at night awakened the doctor on duty who immediately summoned police. A police detail who arrived in that district of San Salvador some time after the call found the dead body of a national guardsman who protected Benjamin Bloom. The second guardsman was scared but unharmed. Speaking haltingly, he told policemen that they had been attacked by a group of unknown persons wearing black loose overalls. The raiders took arms away from the guardsmen, leaving the hospital intact.

It happened on March 2, 1972, and was the first successful operation of the revolutionary people's army, a military political organization which emerged after a split in the youth Communist movement of El Salvador. Ferman Sienfuegos, head of the revolutionary people's army, liked to recall precisely this episode when he conducted political education classes at the school of party cadres for high functionaries of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (NLF). He even suggested that March 2 be annually observed as the day of the Front's first victory.

## Death sentence to a poet

The revolutionary people's army which gave birth to the National Liberation Front was in its turn founded by the Communist Party of El Salvador, though the guerrillas despised the Communists, accusing them of indecision. How could the Communists hesitate in the 1960s and 1970s whether to take up arms or not, young guerrillas argued. Imperialism was retreating all along the front: the victory of the revolution in Cuba; the defeat of the United States in Vietnam; the intensification of the revolutionary struggle throughout Latin America. In those circumstances, young guerrillas brooded, the Communists adopted a wait-and-see stand and even backed the liberal bourgeois government of El Salvador.

Ferman Sienfuegos and his associates formed a group of militant youths and went to the mountains. It was done in the spirit of Cubans and especially Che Guevare, the idol of rebels. Marxism-Leninism became the ideological banner of the NLF.

True, the Salvadoran guerrillas drew theoretical knowledge not only from the Cubans. They carefully studied the revolutionary legacy of other Latin American revolutionaries as well as the works of Mao, Kim Il Sung and the Vietnamese and African ideologists of armed struggle. Nevertheless, they respected the Cubans most. Probably, Ferman Sienfuegos recalled, because only the Cuban brothers always supported the guerrillas and never agreed on "rotten" compromises.

The NLF fought for the purity of its ranks as zealously as against the enemy. Roque Dalton, a well-known left poet, was expelled from the Front during one of the purges. A group of fanatics accused him of having "betrayed the interests of the revolution." The death sentence was executed. However strange that may seem, the son of the executed poet is an activist of the NLF.

Young people were obsessed with the idea of world armed struggle against imperialism which had brought fame to Che Guevare. The craving for vengeance and possibly the desire to carry a gun led those young people to the mountains and forests and pushed them to revolutionary ventures in other countries. For instance, many members of the NLF died in clashes with soldiers of the Guatemalan army.

The military-civilian junta which came to power in El Salvador in October 1979 promised democratic changes, restroration of human rights and participation of left parties in the government. However, the NLF did not back the new government and even staged an armed action against it in San Salvador. This tough and irreconcilable policy which ruled out any alliance with the national bourgeoisie made the communist movement as well as leaders of socialist countries cautious. Only the Cubans remained imperturable.

However, the stand of the most fanatic followers of Che Guevare brought about a split in the NLF ranks itself. A group of young people broke away from the Front to form the National Resistance, an organization favouring a combination of military and political methods of struggle. Later, on second thought, the group was joined by the Communist Party. Five other break-away groups united in the 1970s to build a strong rebel organization.

## The "hand of Moscow"?

Ideological contradictions among the rebels were no obstacle to joint preparations for a long civil war. Attacks on guardsmen, policemen and soldiers with the aim of capturing arms were chosen as the tactics for that period. Rebels widely used the practice of taking hostages. They did not scruple to rob banks and shops. The money thus acquired was spent on the purchase of arms and ammunition as well as on the maintenance of the personnel of the NLF and its numerous diplomatic missions abroad.

The NLF structure is very reminiscent of former party bodies in the USSR. The Front was built on the principle of democratic centralism. The Salvadoran guerrillas had an example to follow. The most loyal and promising members of the Front were sent to study in the Soviet Union. For instance, one of my acquaintances, Salvador Cayatano Carpio (Marcial), who for a long time was considered an indisputable authority in the Front, spent three years studying Marxism-Leninism and party structure in the USSR.

The CPSU Central Committee rendered financial and material aid to the Salvadoran rebels. All Salvadorans who enhanced their ideological and political knowledge in the Soviet Union were received in the Party's Central Committee office and were never grudged money.

There is documentary evidence that the Communist Party of El Salvador was in the financial records of the CPSU Central Committee. For instance, on January 31 and May 29 of 1985 a total of $400,000 was handed over to its representative (see *New Times* No. 44). Salvadoran Communist leader Shafic Jorge Handal, who used to visit the *New Times* office during his visits to Moscow in the past, avoided meeting an *NT* correspondent recently. It is clear, nevertheless, that the dollars received from the Soviet Communist Party went mainly for the purchase of arms and explosives.

In January 1981, the National Liberation Front began large-scale operations against the government troops. By that time the NLF had $170 million on its bank account. It is hardly possible to determine Moscow's share in this sum. The rebels assert that a greater part of the sum consists of their own

Rebels and one of their victims
*Photo from Time magazine (USA)*

means. The Front had supporters also among some rich Salvadorans who hoped to come to power with its help. There were wealthy people among the NLF members, for instance, the Handal clan. The rebels earned part of their funds during large-scale campaigns of solidarity with the Salvadoran people held in the US and Western Europe.

Nevertheless, the CPSU was the main source of financing the NLF. The Soviet party officials who controlled the national hard currency reserves at that time are now trying to distance themselves from their former friends in the rebel movements of Latin America. However, their support to them looked quite natural at the time. El Salvador was then the arena of a clash between the two superpowers. For instance, the other side does not renounce those who received dollars for crushing the guerrillas. The point is that as a rule it rendered assistance legally, with the approval of the legislators.

Even in informal conversations with representatives of the Soviet military mission in Nicaragua I was unable to obtain any concrete information about Soviet military the aid to the Salvadoran rebels. Yet some of them did not deny that the aid could have come through the Cubans. It is possible that it came from the territory of Nicaragua, where the Soviet Defence Ministry advisors were stationed. At the same time, aid was also coming from Cuba. A large electronic espionage centre set up on that island intercepted information from the American territory. It can naturally be supposed that the NLF also received intelligence data about contacts between the American and Salvadoran military.

## On the way from Havana to Managua

Said Salvadoran Defence Minister René Emilio Ponce in a conversation with your correspondent:

"According to military intelligence data, modern types of arms and military hardware were regularly supplied from Nicaragua to El Salvador between 1988 and March 1991. During this time the rebels fired 15 SAM missiles, but had not hit any targets before 1990, when they downed a combat helicopter, an A-37 attack plane, and a C-47 transport plane. It is possible that SAM missiles are now handled by foreign mercenaries, for otherwise it is difficult to explain why they were used so ineffectively before."

The Sandinists' victory in Nicaragua in July 1979 enhanced the fighting spirit of the Salvadoran rebels who hoped to gain a permanent base in that country. Cuban weapons were delivered to the NLF rebels by secret paths through the jungles of Honduras and by air and sea across the Gulf of Fonseca. Besides, Cuban officers trained rebels in special camps near Managua. It is possible that they also took part in planning some military operations in El Salvador.

There were no problems with the delivery of Soviet-made arms to the rebels. Till the end of 1989 they had been shipped to the Corinto port in Nicaragua and, according to invoices, were intended for its army, which was fighting against the contras. In the Soviet embassy in Nicaragua I was told that diplomats knew nothing about the delivery of part of these arms to El Salvador. "The arms were delivered to the client, and their further destiny did not interest us," I was told by a diplomat who asked me not to make his name public. After the Soviet leadership had stopped military supplies to Nicaragua, Cuban ships continued to call at the Corinto port, for Soviet weapons were delivered to Cuba without fail.

According to the evidence given by Miguel Bolañosa, a former head of Nicaragua's state security board, some members of the country's national leadership, the international department of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, the Interior Ministry and Sandinist army units were involved in providing military support for the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front. Control over arms supplies was entrusted to Gen. Joaquin Cuadra, chief of the Sandinist army's general staff. Incidentally, the general retained this post even after the government of Violeta Chamorro had come to power.

It is known for certain that some commanders in the Salvadoran guerrilla units spoke with a Cuban or Nicaraguan accent. It is no secret either that a centre for training "internationalists" to fight in El Salvador was organized in Nicaragua.

* * *

Representatives of the Salvadoran partiots can no longer expect to receive dollar aid in Moscow. Fidel Castro publicly promised not to send weapons to the guerrillas. The democratic government of Nicaragua closed one more source of "combustible material" for the Salvadoran fire. However, mutual hatred between the belligerents has not died down. Will the Salvadoran guerrillas have enough arms to rewrite the course of history by force?

*Yuri Kudimov,*
our own correspondent
SAN SALVADOR–MEXICO CITY

# Homo – yes, Soveticus – no

*Poel Karp*

One hears every now and then that Russia has a chance to survive only if it becomes the greatest and strongest country, the most powerful one in the world. It is again suggested to assume the role of the "elder brother" although precisely this role has brought it to its present condition. Why shouldn't we live as other people do? Our land is rich, we have enough people who are sufficiently educated. To think that we are worse than others is as strange as consider ourselves better than others.

These seemingly opposing positions coexist successfully and have essentially identical implications: we are all the same, each of us is similar to the rest, and it is of but little importance what he really is: a "Soviet Man" which, as Stalin taught, is superior to any high-ranking bourgeois official, or a mere "Homo Soveticus."

Both myths prevent us from seeing that our society is in fact socially differentiated; they prevent us from understanding the real, ideologically undistorted interests of its various strata and the fact that it's exactly different people that need each other. If all people had been alike, the crimes committed by Hitler, Stalin and Pol Pot would not have been so disastrous for peoples. The difference between people is not reducible to social division of labour which tyrants did not want to reckon with either; every human being, even the most "common" one, is indispensable at least for his or her relatives and, consequently, for society.

*Drawing by Vasily Dubov*

Our crisis is deeping because the development of the nation has been barred by the limits of our economy defying the laws of value. In order to finish off with it, it is necessary to overcome feudal socialism. Instead, we engage in renaming streets and localities and expect that everything will settle by itself if only we mention Marx no longer. Yet former ways and morals continue to exist under different names. Wasn't Batu Khan partly a Bolshevik? And was Ivan the Terrible, founder of the empire and serfdom, any better than Stalin? And is it for nothing that Peter the Great has been so often compared to Lenin? We too often repeat that we are coming back to Europe, but wasn't Russia a European country in the times of Kievan Rus and under Bolsheviks just like Germany, too, continued to belong to Europe under Hitler? Russia, Poland and Germany east of Elbe have lived through a period which Engels called the "second edition of serfdom" and which was in fact the triumph of feudal reaction much further edvanced along the path of noneconomic oppression than the receding traditional feudalism of France or Britain of that time. Feudal reaction impeded development of the commodity economy and transition to bourgeois norms. Even Alexander II who understood

that the current order must be changed, did not run the risk of going to the ultimate end. If the October Revolution of 1917 is reducible to the seisure of power by a gang of criminals, as we are being informed nowadays, it is inexplicable why half the country followed these criminals while the other half resolutely opposed them. Why did it happen on such a scale at all? When Lenin learned that the Decree on Land was supported not only by the village poor, but by peasantry at large, has was shocked, for he had by no means expected that. Great declarations were sounded in October, but even before they became a reality the Bolsheviks dissolved the Constituent Assembly and began to build a new system to replace the former noneconomic one. In 1929, Stalin finished off with the revolutionary legacy and restored feudal system of a new type – collective feudalism termed socialism. Under Brezhnev this new feudalism tended to assume traditional forms. This was the ground on which myths of communist ideology with its cult of a "new man" were formed.

However, this doesn't at all mean that real people matched the myths. They all remained different as before. Of course, some, after delivering ardent speeches at Party meetings, spoke quite differently in their kitchens. Yet I don't think that this was the case of, say, the KGB chief, V.Kryuchkov – he was, probably, sincerely convinced of his department's beneficient mission and of his own virtue. There were also the so-called "democrats of the 1960s" who naively believed that feudal socialism could be improved. There were also those who were quite satisfied with the existing regime, but, tiresome of its ideological attire, wanted to remove the portrait of Marx, that bearded Jew, and declare openly that all was "ours," Russian, Orthodox Christian, in the parlance of today's "patriots"...

They would have us believe that Mikhail Gorbachev is responsible for all our misfortunes. But let's imagine Grigory Romanov, the former Leningrad Party boss, to become the General Secretary in 1985. He wouldn't have tolerated any liberty and *glasnost,* and by 1988-89 everything would have collapsed with a mighty crash. And there would have been no one to come to our rescue.

The tragedy is that we do not want to recognize that the laws of life are effective in our case too, and go on insisting on our exclusiveness, either class or national one, and, correspondingly, when a myth proves bankrupt, we rush to the other extreme, mumbling theories about "Homo Soveticus." Human beings are identified with circumstances which deprive them of any freedom of action and at times make them what they are. It's true that the past experience has taught us not to take at face value all lies of our authorities, yet millions of people believed first Gorbachev and subsequently Yeltsin; but since no reforms have started as yet while life becomes increasingly harder, the authorities are losing confidence. Frustrated hopes are paid dearly for. Is it different with other peoples? Of course, for seventy years our souls were filled with fear. But is it fair to condemn those scared if every tenth was in a camp? They say the memory of the century-old misfortunes are recorded in our genes. But this is a wholly unscientific theory, based on the belief in hereditary transmission of acquired properties. Fear is not inherited; if circumstances change and people are given a chance to live a normal human life, new geniuses will be born again. Already in our times a new generation has grown up which not only has no fear, but does not understand its parents' fears.

In the meantime, brain-washing continues, taking on more and more sophisticated forms. Recently head of St.Petersburg TV Yugin declared broadcasts of the channel "600 Seconds" discontinued. The subsequent attempts of "patriots" to defend the channel they considered "theirs" made everyone to overlook the real problem which consisted in that Nevzorov, host of the programme, was the only St. Petersburg TV reporter to have the possibility of regularly instilling his "Nashist" (chauvinist) ideas into the TV audience. The trouble here is not that these ideas are expressed and law is at times violated in the process while Public Prosecutor Verevkin doesn't seem to notice the fascist propaganda. The trouble is that Nevzorov is a monopolist, that no bearers of other views dispose of such a regular channel at such a convenient time on St.Petersburg TV. And people demand "freedom of speech" in order to know details of murders in "socialist" interpretations. But do we really have "freedom of speech?" We still have only *glasnost.*

Where there is no freedom of speech consciousness invariably becomes dull and the simplest things lose intelligibility for "common people." The country is granted the resurrected double-headed eagle as the state emblem to symbolize liberation... Meanwhile the blame for all the troubles the country is in is laid on the people who presumably aren't yet ready for democracy. Indeed, what can be expected from "Homo Soveticus"!

However, there exists a very simple way to find out the truth. You believe that Russian peasant is unable to use land properly? So give it to him and you will find that all peasants are different – some are unable while others can manage it all right, and there is a sufficient number of those who are able to feed the country to satiety. Only don't stand in their way; but they do stand and they do humiliate them because in a feudal society the position of one who takes decisions is profitable and prestigious. One should rather feel delighted at the fact that the people retain morale though once again decieved, and, wasting time in endless lines, people only at times engage in quarrels, but, as a rule, they support each other and exchange information about commercial situation in the neighbourhood.

We are no better, yet no worse than others and we also might live a normal human life and avail ourselves of an opportunity to try oneself and find out what the country needs more in an honest competition and not from the authorities' prescriptions. It's well known that for people to change it is necessary to change the conditions in which they have to live.

Take Germany as an example. This is a real socialist country, although Germans feel offended when so told. Socialism means a social state, i.e., a state which takes care of its citizens and helps the have-nots and those who have lost their way in life. Not people have obligations to the state, but the state has obligations to the people. This is what is called socialism. The Soviet state can't be called socialist because it has never had any obligations to the people living in it. This is why today we must think about a normal development of bourgeois society in our country, bearing in mind that people need social garantees. The prosperity of the West is the result of the policy of social garantees.

The only meaning of a revolution is liberation of people, otherwise no revolution has a sense. But when changing nothing but names, we demand that our leaders become angels, our misunderstanding of the most elementary prerequisites makes them turn into devils. It's high time we stopped finding faults with people and looked at the state, our monstrous state which commands full control over everything; we must recognize that it is not people who must constantly serve it, but it must serve people, defend freedom and property of those who are able to take care of themselves and help those who are in need, which more often than not is not their fault at all.

The dissolution of the Constituent Assembly cut short the country's democratic development which had just begun early in 1918. Isn't the time ripe to convene it again so that everyone could at last become what he really is – a human being, not a "Soviet Man" or a "Homo Soveticus." Maybe we will understand then who benefited from giving people nicknames, glorifying or humiliating, but equally obliterating their personal identity.

ST.PETERSBURG

# The World Paper

Can we balance the environmental ledger by curbing our economic appetite?

# Green Ink

What am I bid for one ozone layer, slightly depleted? What price the elephant, or one million hectares of Amazon rain forest?

Questions like these amuse environmentalists who generally believe that the protection of the environment is an ethical, not economic, issue. But environmental economists see things differently. They argue that it is possible – and indeed essential – to put a price on the natural world.

To prove their point, economists pose this question: What if the cost of preventing any further depletion of the ozone layer was every cent of wealth generated by the world? Would humanity pay that? Of course not. Therefore, the value of the ozone layer is certainly less than US$21 trillion, which is the annual gross world product. On the other hand, the value of the ozone layer is clearly not zero. By groping toward the right order of magnitude, economists can suggest to policymakers how much wealth people should be asked to sacrifice to reduce ozone depletion.

Because environmental resources are not bought and sold like cars or cabbages, economists have had to devise ingenious techniques for valuing them. One approach is to look at the value of a resource to people who use it. If an unpolluted river has a value to those who earn their living by fishing, it can be calculated from the market value of the fish. Other people may enjoy sailing on the river or swimming in it; one way to establish the value put on such activities is to look at what they pay to travel to the river to enjoy these pastimes.

But some people may never visit the river yet value the fact that it is unpolluted. To discover such "non-use" values, economists typically use public opinion surveys, asking people in various sophisticated ways what they are willing to pay to preserve an environmental resource.

In developing countries, techniques of environmental valuation are increasingly used by the World Bank and by national aid agencies to discover to what extent monetary gains from exploiting natural resources are offset by environmental costs. Policies such as deforestation may bring readily measured benefits – but less readily reckoned costs. When trees are cut down, the market will put a price on their value as lumber, and on the cattle that ranchers may raise on the cleared land. But the market does not reflect the "use" value of the trees to people – often the poor and landless – who have relied on them for food, fuel and building materials. The market also fails to capture the benefits of preventing soil erosion, of protecting fisheries and dams from silting, and of stabilizing the climate.

The value of preserving land can be calculated by looking at the value food and fuel produce in local markets, for instance, or by assessing the cost of dredging silt from rivers. In developed

countries, where environmental resources have a less direct impact on living standards, "non-use" values are often more important. Several organizations, notably the US Environmental Protection Agency, have estimated "non-use" values to assess the benefits of various environmental policies whose costs, in terms of economic activity foregone, may be easier to see.

This year, a dramatic exercise in environmental valuation was conducted in Australia. The country's Resource Assessment Commission (RAC) helped the government decide if it should allow mining on the edge of Kakadu National Park. The RAC surveyed more than 2,000 people at large, and a further 500 in the Northern Territories where the mining would have occurred. The purpose was to find out what people would willingly pay to protect the site. In the interest of fairness, half of those questioned were told that the environmental impact of mining on the site would be severe and the other half were given the mining industry's own view that damage would be minor.

Interestingly, even those who heard the mining industry's side of the story said they would be willing to pay heavily to avoid mining. Their replies put an average value of slightly more than $500 million a year on saving the site. That was more than the value of minerals that the mining industry hoped to extract. Those who heard the environmentalists' more alarming estimate of damage named much larger sums.

In the event, the survey did not decide the fate of Kakadu. When Australia's prime minister, Robert Hawke, turned down the mining proposal in June, it was on the ground that the site was sacred to a group of aborigines. But the survey may have played some part by indicating the strength of public feeling in favor of conserving Kakadu.

The Kakadu survey predictably attracted much criticism from the mining industry, and also from those who pointed out that it put a value on a hectare of wilderness that was double the price of prime downtown Tokyo office space.

More telling, critics drew attention to an American study designed to find out what value was ascribed to clean air in the Grand Canyon by people living in Chicago, some 1,000 miles away. When people were asked just about the Grand Canyon, they claimed to be willing to pay $90; when asked first what they would pay for cleaner air in Chicago and in the eastern US, and only then about the Grand Canyon, the value they ascribed to visibility at the natural wonder shrank to $16. Clearly, the outcome of that $6 million research project in Chicago will raise questions about any future attempts to put a value on natural resources, or the elephant, or the Amazon – or even the ozone layer.

*Frances Cairncross*
LONDON,
UK

Cost of natural resource degradation to national economies

| Country | Nature of damage | Year | Percent of GNP |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ethiopia | Deforestation | 1983 | 6.0-9.0 |
| Burkina Faso | Biomass loss | 1988 | 8.8 |
| Poland | Pollution damage | 1987 | 4.7-7.7 |
| Germany | Most pollution damage | 1983-85 | 4.6-4.9 |
| Indonesia | Deforestation | 1984 | 3.6 |
| Netherlands | Some pollution damage | 1986 | 0.5-0.8 |
| Indonesia | Soil erosion | 1984 | 0.4 |
| Mali | Soil erosion | 1988 | 0.4 |

**David Pearce, "Global Environmental Change: The Challenge to Industry and Economic Science," University of Southampton. Excerpted from *Costing the Earth* by Frances Cairncross**

# Battle in the swamps

The Everglades are an International Biosphere Reserve, a World Heritage Site, and one of only three wetlands of international importance. In this article, Ken Adams, a member of the governing board of the South Florida Water Management District, describes what happened in a legal battle over protection of the 1,250,000-acre Everglades National Park.

The story began half a century ago after 2,000 people and 25,000 cows had drowned as a result of devastating hurricanes that ravaged central and south Florida. The US government authorized the Central & Southern Florida Flood Control Project, one of the world's largest engineering schemes, to provide "basic flood protection and water control essential to the development of over 725,000 acres of agriculture land." More than 1,400 miles of canals and many giant pumping stations were constructed to drain much of the original Everglades. This has permitted extensive urban and agricultural development.

The project has been a tremendous success. Today, on a muckland farming area leveled to laser-accuracy flatness, 20,000 farm workers help feed the nation, creating a US$2 billion annual agricultural industry.

But yesterday's solution to flooding has become today's environmental problem. Scientists and conservationists have been sounding the alarm: while the benefits of the water management system have been great and obvious, the costs in terms of environmental impact may be even greater. Nutrients, especially phosphorous, from farm runoff, if unchecked, could eventually destroy the ecosystem.

In 1988 the federal government filed an unprecedented lawsuit, not against the farmers, but against the State of Florida and the South Florida Water Management District (SFWMD), alleging failure to protect water quality. Reacting, the SFWMD hired one of the country's most high-powered and expensive law firms.

Local and national media went into a "feeding frenzy" over the controversy and the issue was a major factor in the election of a new state governor and the subsequent replacement of five of nine members of the governing board of the SFWMD.

William D.Ruckelshaus, a former administrator of the federal Environmental Protection Agency, aptly noted that "the difficulty of converting scientific findings into political action is a function of the uncertainty of the science and the pain generated by the action." The uncertainty arises when scientists can't agree, and the pain is the cost of correcting the problem – in this case, estimated at $200 to $600 million.

The suit was deadlocked until Florida's newly elected governor, former US Senator Lawton Chiles, walked into the courtroom and declared, "I want to surrender. I've brought my sword; who do I give it to?... Yes, I agree that the water is dirty, and the State of Florida pledges to clean it up."

The Florida legislature approved a new law authorizing the SFWMD to expropriate farm land for the purpose of constructing cleanup marshes to act as kidneys in filtering the nutrient-laden water.

Next, the US government, the State of Florida and the SFWMD signed a historic agreement settling the lawsuit that closely paralleled provisions of Florida law. It calls for improved farm practices in addition to 35,000 acres of cleanup marshes. Interim water quality standards are to be met in six years and pollution totally eliminated in 10 years. The "uncertainty of science" is addressed by appointing a technical oversight committee to review the collection and analysis of data and the application of scientific knowledge gained by operation of a

test marsh. Mediation is provided for by the court retaining jurisdiction while leaving room for flexibility as the science becomes more certain.

Ruckelshaus' second concern, the pain, or cost, of the solution, was not addressed in the agreement, but left to the political process. The answer to the question of who pays will always be a political one. The ultimate cost of protecting or not protecting the environment will be absorbed by society.

However, the process devised in settling the Everglades lawsuit could be a model for others seeking to implement society's change in values from short-term expediency to long-term sustainability: a court acts as a catalyst, policeman and final arbitrator in a process which drives and responds to emerging scientific knowledge. Incomplete science doesn't prevent the program from getting started.

A crucial key is a technical oversight committee that may be forced to meet deadlines without the luxury of complete science. But if it errs on the side of society's changing values, sustainability will likely be the result, to the ultimate benefit of all involved.

Except in the eyes of extremists, Florida's Everglades may have produced the best process yet for implementing policies of sustainable development.

*Ken Adams*
WEST PALM BEACH, USA

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# IOU clean air

Recent US legislation establishes a system of tradable permits limiting sulfur dioxide emissions, the leading trouble-maker in the formation of acid rain. The permits are issued to companies and set for each its legal level of emissions. If a company wishes to exceed the prescribed limit, it must buy additional permits from companies polluting below their limit. The permit system keeps overall emissions at regulated levels and allows companies that reduce their pollution to profit from selling unused permits.

The market-incentive approach found its most coherent advocates in two US senators, Timothy Wirth and John Heinz, and a professor from Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government, Robert N. Stavins. A position paper called Project 88, released three years ago at the beginning of the Bush administration, pitched their suggestions, and the tradable permit plan is the result.

Recently, Project 88 has spoken again. To attack global warming, it suggests a global trading program in greenhouse gasses. Each nation would accept a limit on its carbon dioxide emissions. Nations incapable of reducing emissions to the proper level, would have to buy permits from those which did reduce levels to below their limit. Variations of the plan suggest that developed countries should pay less-developed countries to reduce their emissions, for instance, by providing pollution-reducing technology.

To ease the burden on less-developed nations (which may have no choice but to use cheaper, more-polluting technologies) Project 88 suggested setting for them more modest standards.

# Careless Kuwaitis?

Few doubt that Saddam Hussein is to blame for the ecological disaster caused by the firing of thousands of Kuwait's oil wells during the Gulf war. Nonetheless, the Geneva-based World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) says the disaster would have been avoided, or mitigated, had Kuwait properly equipped its oil wells with safety valves.

The WWF report says that safety valves installed in the wells hundreds of feet below the surface, as prescribed by the Oil and Gas Industry International Standards, would have prevented most of the fires caused by sabotage. Claiming that Kuwaiti engineers never installed the safety devices, or that they were installed but not properly maintained, the report calls for stricter enforcement of international safety standards.

## Lizard roundup

The Green Iguana Foundation of Costa Rica is trying to ensure the survival of the declining green iguana population in Latin America by establishing iguana ranching as a profitable alternative to raising cattle. Iguanas are considered a delicacy in many parts of Central America, but because farmers are burning forests to clear land for cattle, the iguanas have become an endangered species. To raise iguanas, farmers would have to preserve their natural habitat, the rain forest.

The foundation was started in Panama in 1983 by biologist Dagmar Verner who has acquired the nickname "The Iguana Mama." So far, the group has released into the wild about 40,000 iguanas – 20,000 in Panama and 20,000 in Costa Rica – to test the feasibility of ranching.

## Mixed message

First, the not-so-good news: the ozone layer which protects the planet from the sun's harmful ultra violet rays is getting thinner much faster than anyone anticipated. Now, the not-so-bad news: a thinner ozone layer might be slowing the pace of global warming. Confused? You'r not alone.

Last year, 93 countries agreed to phase out by the year 2000 (2010 for developing countries) production of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), the chemical most responsible for destroying the ozone layer. The need for swift action seemed to be confirmed recently when scientists working for the United Nations Environment Program reported significant depletion of the ozone layer in summer and spring over the temperate Northern Hemisphere. Previously, significant depletion had been detected only over the poles.

But the scientists also announced that they had found evidence that the loss of ozone may be cooling the planet instead of heating it. The ozone layer absorbs ultra violet rays and heats up, trapping heat in the atmosphere. A thinner ozone layer does not trap as much heat as a complete one.

The international conference on CFCs will meet again next August in Copenhagen, and it's anyone's guess whether the main problem then will be to phase out CFCs (and other ozone-destroyers) faster or slower. Or whether, perhaps, to concentrate on phasing out gasses that certainly contribute to global warming, like carbon dioxide.

## Green Beetlemania

Of all of Mexico's environmental problems, air pollution in Mexico City remains one of the worst. Some say the air is so bad that breathing it is equivalent to smoking a pack of cigarettes a day.

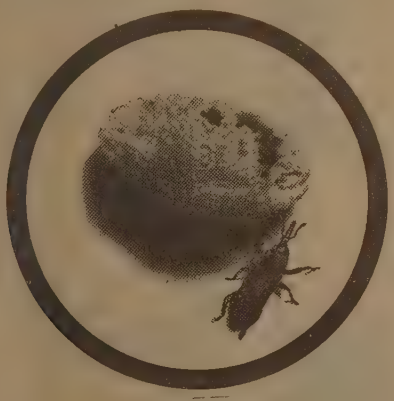
Recently, city officials came up with a plan to ban taxis made before 1983 if they don't meet new exhaust emission standards. As an incentive to taxi drivers to junk their old cabs, the city subsidizes Volkswagen beetles which use unleaded fuel and have catalytic converters that drastically cut emissions.

The government offers 80 percent financing for purchase of the new cars. Volkswagen also offers 80 percent financing, and at a better rate, but buyers must pay extra if they want their taxis in a color other than the environmentally correct shade of green offered by the factory.

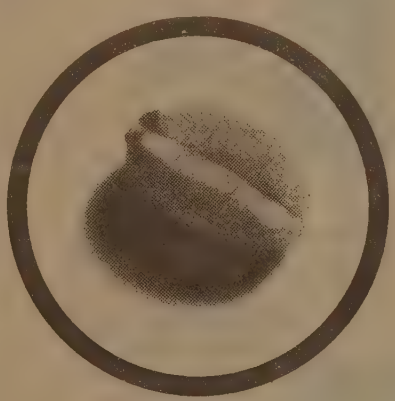
## Truth in advertising

In many countries, a boom in advertising of "environmentally safe" consumer goods has led to calls for investigation of the truthfulness of the claims. Germany's Blue Angel seal still stands as the benchmark for so-called eco-labels. Manufacturers' claims are rigorously examined and only those that pass get the Blue Angel seal of approval. In a recent poll in the UK, 40 percent of consumers said that all corporate claims were just scams, and in a US poll 89 percent thought the government should regulate corporate claims about environmental safety.

*Todd Hyten,*
the *World Paper's*
Assistant Editor

*World Problems*



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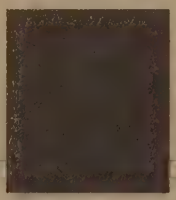

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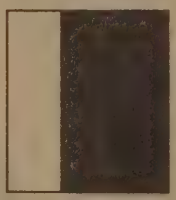

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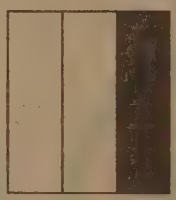

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# Mass media: the troublemaker?

*Vladimir Zhitomirsky*

"Secrets are to be kept where they belong," the Czecho-Slovak journalist Miroslav Jelinek, editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Mlada Fronta,* told me. "This rule, if observed, obviates the need for censorship." He had said this two months before Soviet tanks crushed the "Prague spring," an attempt to build socialism with a human face.

We have got so clever and bold by now. Socialism, even that with a human face, is a thing of the past for us. It is about time we've started thinking in different categories. Somehow we cannot do that so far, as illustrated by the recent attempt made by Russia's legislators to protect man from information.

Now that the Glavlit censorship administration, which kept secret the very list of problems and subjects not to be mentioned in the press, is defunct, the Supreme Soviet of independent Russia has revived some of the past practices in its new law On Mass Communication Media. The bill's provision which made journalists free to divulge specially classified information if their actions have no criminal intent has been withdrawn upon the insistence of deputy Stepankov. I recall another legal provision which says: "Ignorance of law does not relieve one of criminal liability." Times change, but some tunes do not. Today the limits of secrecy often remain obscure to the writing fraternity. You didn't know that this is a secret? Well, "ignorance of law does not relieve..."

Incidentally, ours is a most specific situation as far as secrecy is concerned. What should under no circumstances be known at all, or divulged to readers or TV viewers can be simply communicated, and even demonstrated, to those whom we are supposed to guard our secrets from with special zeal – I mean NATO military. Now that we are seeking admission to NATO, the aura of secrecy is largely becoming vaguer still. Nevertheless, confidential instructions that strict secrecy be ensured remain in force. These instructions can always be used to gag an over-talkative newspaperman with.

Another gag is the rule that editors have to disclose their private sources of information if requested to do so by court of law or, say, by a commission of inquiry. May I remind the reader that at the time of the "Prague spring" a fierce battle was fought for the freedom of the press – in America. Courts demanded that American journalists disclosed their "informers"; the journalists firmly refused to comply with that demand, which they regarded as anti-constitutional, and some even landed in jail as a result.

The first amendment to the American Constitution forbids to adopt any legal acts which restrict the freedom of the press. The demand that a newspaperman should produce his notes and name his sources was in obvious contradiction with the amendment.

It is true that there may be situations where a correspondent interviews a person who has just committed a murder in his presence. In this hypothetical case the journalist violates all the professional and ethical norms and even breaks the law. What I mean is something different. The judges would like to use the writing fraternity as suppliers of information which otherwise would have to be gathered by investigators. The journalist's profession, however, presupposes confidential contacts when the "source" (not necessarily a mafiosi) is ready to give a "dope" provided his name is not publicly disclosed. As a result, a reporter can do his own investigation and his readers or listeners get important information. Who stands to gain in this case? Society does. The judiciary's attempts to make informers out of journalists are not only morally dubious – they intrefere with the normal functioning of the press. Meanwhile, as we know from history, attempts to hobble the press may have sinister consequences.

**Are we in for searches of editorial offices and summons to court?**

And what about another "pearl" of legislation which forbids the use of candid shots as illustrations to newspaper articles? What is candid photography? Does video recording from the window of a besieged building under fire fall into this category? Under the law in question, a TV cameraman should do the recording in full view of the attackers, without trying to take cover behind a curtain or a broken wall. As a matter of fact, even ordinary street work involves no mean risks for a press photographer or a TV cameraman. What if a passerby invokes the law against candid photography and sues him for having been photographed (or videoed) without due authorization?

Jokes aside, isn't this ban meant as a protection of various powers-that-be from the public eye? This is not, of course, the matter of installing a candid camera in a VIP's bedroom. As an instrument of *glasnost,* candid photography can be used to expose certain privileges this VIP still enjoys. After all, the electors should know whether their choices carry out the mandate given them.

The same law makes searches of editorial offices a matter of routine. (Journalists' files may contain all sorts of interesting information.) This is probably intended as a defiance towards Europe where such practice is forbidden.

And the last thing. Against the background of a sharp (fourfold) rise in newspaper and magazine delivery tariffs by our glorious Ministry of Communications and of a steady mounting of the cost of newsprint and everything else having to do with the spread of information, the law in question puts us, journalists, in an awkward situation.

However, there is a glimmer of hope for us, journalists: the Law on Mass Media seems to be not to the President's liking; he has not affixed his signature to it as yet.

Well, which way shall we go from *glasnost* – back to Party journalism, or ahead, to freedom of the press?

FROM THE XXth CENTURY POLITICAL THOUGHT

Introduced by *New Times* analyst **Rostislav Zolotaryov**

Last year we already published several works of Polish sociologists and political scientists written in the 1960s. They were interesting in many respects. First of all, they illustrated the state of Polish social thought in that period. Second, they revealed that the Marxist social sciences in Eastern Europe, and in the USSR, got rid to some extent of the Stalinist dogmas and, of former doctrinairism generally. In Poland, as well as in Hungary and Yugoslavia, these processes were most noticeable. Third, this deliverance from dogmas led to broader ties with the social sciences in the West and heightened attention to their world classical legacy. The former social and scientific traditions and schools were revived too. This is particularly true of Poland, where sociology has developed intensively since the beginning of the century. This country gave birth to many outstanding scholars. It should be said that even in the worst times of the dictatorship and ideological repressions in Poland these traditions did not virtually fade away but were merely shifted to the periphery of social sciences. The 1960s was a period of a decisive change in the paradigm and vector of development of Polish sociology — of its Marxist version and of what remained loyal to the tradition.

In this issue we carry an article by Stanislaw Tyrowicz on the state of philosophy in the Nazi totalitarian state, *Weltanschauungsstaat*. It was published in *Polski Przegled Sociologiczny* in 1968. The article is noteworthy for the historic facts cited in it and because it shows the destiny of intellectuals and knowledge in a totalitarian society. It is quite possible that the article, written in the late 1960s, was in a way an allegory of what took place in the country's intellectual life under communist rule. In any case, certain allusions suggest themselves.

**R.Z.**

# German philosophy in the Nazi times

*Stanislaw Tyrowicz*

National socialism was not inspired by German philosophy, but philosophy, as cultivated in German universities, had intimate links with national socialism. And yet, for all those links so ostentatiously emphasized, the orthodox followers of Nazi ideology never approved of that compliant and loyalist academic philosophy. One of the constant elements of the science policy of the Third Reich was to discredit and oppose academic philosophy and its traditions, and to restrict its sphere of influence.

What were the causes of that almost permanent campaign against a discipline so compliant and conforming with the prevailing policies? And what were the reasons of maintaining that the then German philosophers, compliant and willing to cooperate, were "irreparably corrupted," while in fact, if we are to infer from their complaints, they suffered most because they were held in suspicion and rejected by the authorities?

Answers to these questions, obtained from an analysis of the texts left by those philosophers who were active in the Third Reich, do not exhaust the subject matter of the present paper. We have studied, from the viewpoint of the sociology of knowledge, the problem of institutional German philosophy, as it functioned within the system shaped by the Nazi state, which in carrying out its science policy acted toward that philosophy as *Weltanschauugsstaat*. Under such circumstances academic phylosophy was possible only as a functional element of the prevailing ideology; should it prove unable or unwilling to perform that function, there would be no place for it at all.

The Third Reich needed and demanded a philosophy that would comply with its own social order and with the principles that were supposed to hold that social order together. The tasks faced by "true citizens," approved, following a racialist and *Weltanschauung* verification, as those called to pursue philosophy, seemed enrapturing to a handful of professional philosophers. But enthusiasm was not enough. In the politically uniform and authoritarian Germany the heterogeneous peculiarities of philosophy had to be, and were in fact, taken as the evident proof of its scandalous and irreparable depravity, similar to the depravity of those governments and societies which did not prove willing to adopt the Nuremberg laws. And even though those philosophers who enjoyed the confidence of the authorities complied with the will of the state, they nevertheless had to be persuaded about the necessity of perceiving facts so as the state would like them to do.

**The search of the philosophy of the "German kind."** Competent opinions by those authors who closely watched the problems we are interested in, or who were directly involved in those problems, testify to a decidedly hostile attitude of national socialism toward philosophy. A Dresden philologist, who in his diary recorded the changes that were taking place in the German terminology under the Third Reich, noted that the Nazis were unwilling to use the term "philosophy." He stated that "philosophy" was replaced by *Weltanschauung*, and pointed to the fact that this verbal subsitute (*Ersatzwort)* was used so frequently as to loose its originality and to become quite commonplace. Karl Jaspers in his philosophical autobiography, a text that resulted from his experiences, observations made over a period of many years, and final intellectual conclusions, defined the attitude of national socialism toward philosophy as mortal spiritual enmity. There is no reason to add to this list of unambiguous statements which, as it seems, have not be questioned by anyone so far. They are uncontestable.

But they are so only on the objective plane. In the works of many German philosophers who were active under the Third Reich we do not find that clear distinction between the different spheres, separated from one another by the realization of their mortal spiritual enmity. The striving to bring together philosophy and Nazi *Weltanschauung* into some form of syncretism became the programme of a group of the German academic philosophers, who were termed "traditionalists" by their opponents. Those opponents were another group of academic philosophers, who firmly dissociated themselves from all trends existing in philosophy, but did not disclaim the name of philosophers. They demanded the formulation of a national socialist philosophy pure and simple, without any "alien" contaminations. They will hereafter be termed "antitraditionalists."

Enmity toward philosophy was neither an isolated nor an exceptional phenomenon. On the contrary, among all the cases of hatred, dislikes and resentments, which practically evade registering but which were an almost exhaustive manifestation of the Nazi mentality, we have to do with a special case; it is as if we felt the taste of the ocean in a drop of water. As in the other cases, in philosophy too the aims of the destructive blows of the storm of enmity were selected consciously by competent specialists. It was a programmed and controlled explosion. From a point of view it was sensible and not blind, and it destroyed selectively, and not totally. It was intended to root

out "alien" philosophies and to clear the ground for the cultivation of a national socialist "philosophy."

Academic philosophy, subjected to destructive attacks and yet continuing its uninterrupted existence, had an ambiguous status in the Third Reich and was often criticized quite mercilessly. These criticisms and attacks partly resulted from the general anti-scientific orientation of the Nazi doctrine. A physicist who stood by the theory of relativity and the philosopher who stood by logical positivism probably experienced the same manifestation of interference by ignorant but zealous activists armed with "infallible *Weltanschauung.*"

The authorities did not rest satisfied with verbal declarations of loyalty, but demanded deeds. Alfred Rosenberg instructed scholars and scientists that "*Weltanschauung* does not consist in dialectics, nor is it only a written word, but is a direct act. A march past of SA or SS troops at a party meeting is as much a *Weltanschauung* manifestation of the idea of national socialism as is a comprehensive philosophical work."

And yet, as compared with the other humanities, history excepted, philosophy was somewhat privileged. Andreas Walther, a professor of sociology in Hamburg and at the same time a zealous Nazi, pointed to the fact that his younger party comrades behaved in sociology as invaders in a newly conquered country: they had the power in their hands, but they felt uneasy and insecure.

When Walther's pertinent observation is referred to philosophy as it existed in the Third Reich, its inadequacy and even pointlessness become evident. The myth of philosophy as the symbol of the German *genius loci,* the discipline through the intermediary of which the German *Volksgeist* used to manifest itself, was too widely spread to let those who wanted to pursue philosophy in the national socialist way to feel estranged. The conviction that predilection for philosophy is a specifically German characteristics was rooted so deeply that it often resulted in self-deception even on the part of eminent experts of the subject.

Enmity toward philosophy was accordingly something else than metaphysically interpreted predilection for philosophy; the latter was as a rule appraised positively. Franz Böhm, who valued the Nazi doctrine above everything else, condemned existing philosophy on the basis of that doctrine, but did not at the same time feel any need to curb the philosophical inclinations of the Germans. A confirmed Nazi, he did not have the feeling of being an intruder in the field of philosophy. Rather on the contrary he had the conviction that he cultivated his own ground that had to be cleared thoroughly as it had been littered by alien waste. *Philosophie nach der deutschen Art,* that is what all eminent thinkers of our blood would like to be, Böhm said. Unfortunately, unpardonable carelessness bordering on treason resulted, in his opinion, in a situation in which "German philosophy was being driven out from Germany herself; quantitatively, in its own homeland it was being dominated by European philosophy."

Beginning in 1933, the demand that German philosophy be restored its "German character" came to appear in publications with an increasing frequency. It would be difficult not to notice that the demand was repeated by authors who otherwise occupied opposite positions in philosophy. Professor Glockner, who in the opinion of Böhm was a "traditional" philosopher, asked the rhetorical question: "What does the dawn of contemporaneity mean? Does the rising day mean work or struggle? It means work and struggle alike! We shall struggle against the non-German spirit which, unfortunately, during the last decades has in many ways penetrated our philosophy."

Glockner and Böhm. The former claimed that a philosophy adjusted to the realities of Nazi Germany did not have to be a manifestation of a total opposition to the previous evolution and accordingly ought to become a continuator of definite trends in, and ways of, philosophizing, which had manifested themselves in Germany for centuries. The latter, an apostle of a radical breakthrough, demanded that all categories and concepts used so far and formed under the pressure of European universalism, which in his opinion suppressed and adulterated the genuine German spirit, be rejected. For Böhm, the future, and not the past, was the point of reference. And yet, for all these differences, they are so much alike in repeating the same political slogans, smuggled through under the guise of philosophy. In the philosophical literature of that period we find strikingly many authors who are in agreement as to the demand that the German character of philosophy be restored.

"We demand from our philosophy," wrote Ernst Bergmann, who taught in Leipzig, "that it reject alien, in particular Romanesque and Asiatic, influences, and that it turn again to the homeland, the nation, and the heritage of our ancestors." The epicentrum of this nationalist explosion was situated, of course, outside the field of philosophy. The slogan *zurück zu sich selber,* circulated by Goebbels' propaganda machine, was then being repeated in various versions not only in all academic circles, but also in the communities of the faithful.

**Alfred Rosenberg:**
**"*Weltanschauung* does not consist in dialectics, nor is it only a written word, but is a direct act. A march past of SA or SS troops at a party meeting is as much a *Weltanschauung* manifestation of the idea of national socialism as is a comprehensive philosophical work"**

The significant fact, however, was that while the *Weltanschauungsstaat* saw in those philosophers who circulated these slogans, conscious and reliable representatives of philosophy, it was not inclined to leave philosophy to philosophers. Those who in Nazi Germany were policy-makers in the field of science and who determined the ways of handling scholars and scientists, used to take into account the existing myth of philosophy and were lively interested in the possibility of making ideological capital of that myth.

The removal from the Chairs of Philosophy of such scholars as Jaspers and Tillich was accompanied by appointing such individuals as *Ministerialdirektor* Georg Gerulis, Bolko von Richthofen, and *Ministerialrat* Erich Schumann ordinary professors of philosophy. Göring, who signed their appointments, was in a position to realize what their scholarly competences were, and yet he considered them adequate. It was so because Bolko von Richthofen was probably better prepared for engaging in apologetic historiosophy that justified the Nazi rule than were those professors who had been removed from their Chairs. The party which took over in 1933 needed apologetic historiosophy very badly. The demand was for a synthesis that would combine reflections on the goals and sense of history with the ideas of the Nazi social system and the conclusions of racialist psychology and anthropology. Alfred Rosenberg's confession, "I believe that national socialist philosophy will some time become the queen of the faculties of future universities," was just one of the many manifestations of the demand.

Thus German philosophy was not denied a role in the task of producing a "scientific" version of Nazi *Weltanschauung.* In that role philosophers seemed useful to the Nazi state. This was stated explicitly, the fact that it was stated, among others, by Hitler himself, being rather significant. The opportunity was offered by the 12th General Meeting of the German Philosophical Society, convened in Magdeburg in early October 1933. The report from the meeting may not, of course, be treated as an authoritative source of information about the attitudes of the participants. Was it not exactly in Germany that the biting aphorism, *in allen Kongressen die Hauptsache ist das Essen,* was coined? Nevertheless the urge to answer the question about the sociotechnique of the accommodation of German academic philosophy with the Nazi system justifies the interest in the "first encounter of outstanding philosophers with the leaders of new Germany who are interested in philosophy." The offer made by the President, Professor Felix Krueger, was quite clear: "As the German philosophers declare themselves in favour of a vigorous transformation of the German order, the state on its part may demand that philosophy side with it as a force shaping the nation..."

The imposing solemnity with which the meeting was opened; the participation of many state and party dignitaries; the excess of greeting speeches; the exchange of cordial telegrams with the Führer; the kowtowing manifestation of loyalty and the access to "new Germany" – did all this really prove that German philosophers were particularly susceptible to national socialist ideology? In fact, the outward lustre of the meeting veiled the advancing process of destruction of German philosophy, and was a public manifestation of the precariousness of its existence. Such were the characteristics of the period with which we are concerned, and the behaviour of German philosophers did not deviate from the standard. German intellectual *milieus* replied to Nazi terror with an epidemic of Byzantinism, which was then the fashion on a scale that astonishes present-day West German historians.

We shall never learn how many "Magdeburg singers," versed in dialectics, treated their participation in that ceremony as a conventional act that did not involve any obligations and had no connection with their own convictions and accepted system of values. Professor S.Ossowski wrote: "If the formula 'your obedient servant' does not mean in the least that a person assumes the social function of a servant, then why should we not treat similarly an applause, words of approval, or participation in a religious ceremony, which are supposed to please someone?"

**Alfred Rosenberg:**
**"I believe that national socialist philosophy will some time become the queen of the faculties of future universities"**

From the perspective of 30 years the intentions of the Nazi invasion of philosophy can be seen more clearly. The past has brought them into full relief. In 1933, and even in 1936, when the ideologization of German academic life intensified violently, a scared professor, directly involved in the course of events, could find it difficult to grasp that his beautiful and enlightened Germany was really submerged in an ocean of barbarity. And even if that fact was occasionally realized, the activity and attitudes of scholars were nevertheless determined by the various rationalizations. In this connection the statement by old Heinrich Rickert, whom practically no circumstances could force to compromise, deserves special attention: "What we Germans have to do today and tomorrow depends not on philosophical but on entirely different considerations. If the philosophical-ethical attitude of the German does not agree with the demands of the day, he has to accomodate his views to the historical situation. Otherwise he must renounce every effective cultural activity, for in the long run such an activity is only possible within his people."

This call for an abdication of philosophy and ethics on behalf of the requirements of the moment, this explicit recommendation to adjust one's opinions to the historical situation marks the end of a period in the history of German philosophy. The next period had by then already begun, and Rickert still could see its first effects.

**The social and political situation and the emphasis on the meaning of history.** When pointing to the important phenomenon of the formulation by the various social groups, classes, nations and culture of doctrines about themselves N.Assorodobraj singled out and described a number of specific situations in which sensitiveness to history manifests itself with extraordinary intensity. Under such situations both the scope and the strength of responses to history increase greatly. An analysis of vast comparative data has led Professor Assorodobraj to the conclusion that: "...such situations are the processes of violent and fundamental social change, the formation and consolidation of new social classes, of new relations between classes and new principles of the social hierarchy."

The social and political situation of Germany under the Nazi dictatorship, and in particular such factors as:

–all the measures intended to transform "the masses into a nation," based on racialist lagislation, adoption of appropriate criteria of social selection, and broad campaign intended to "heal" the nation through isolation and extermination of its "sick," "asocial" and "inferior" members. The slogan calling for changing "the masses into a nation" was very often used in the literature and journalist writings of the period. It was in fact one of the most effective *idées de force* of the propagated ideology);

–the spreading of the worship of the "race," idealization of old Germanic virtues supposedly transmitted from generation to generation "through blood," unprecedented national socialist indoctrination;

–endeavours to change the class structure of German society into one based on estates;

–the introduction of a system of authoritarian leadership (*Führerprinzip*) as the obligatory principle of directing all social activity: the national economy, the schools, art, mass associations, scientific societies, and youth organizations;

–the expansion of rigidly hierarchic apparatus of centralized authority and its numerous analogues in mass organizations that covered the whole of society;

–intensive preparations for a total war, which was accompanied by the propagation of military and "heroic traditions;"

–all these were examples of the elements of the situation referred to above and resulted in the fact that Germany in the 1930's experienced an unprecedented response to the meaning of history.

That increased sensitivity to the meaning of history was accompanied in social consciousness by a radical revision of those elements of history which were then in demand. As a result of that operation vast areas of German – and obviously also universal – history, especially in the field of intellectual activity, were either excluded or considered uninteresting. To list those areas would burst the framework of the present paper. For all the drastic deformations it was just history that was expected to provide "arguments" which would justify the national socialist "breakthrough." Negated and depreciated, falsified and mythologized, it was history that was to prove that the present, if it wants to be "authentic and immortal," must prove its opposition to the rejected past.

The violent increase in sensitivity to the meaning of history in social consciousness ought not in this cases be interpreted as an apology of the past in general, as an idealization of "all that which happened earlier." On the contrary. The hatred accumulated in Nazi ideology and the need of aggression were finding vent in a war that was waged not only against the living, but against the dead as well. The past was not covered by an amnesty, but was transformed into an instrument of "living history."

By disclosing the system of connections and relations between increased sensitivity to the meaning of history and its determinants in social structure the author of *Living History* had drawn attention to the fact that the phenomenon was not in the least confined to history in the narrower sense of the term, but covered the history of ideology in the broad sense of the word. The texts produced in academic philosophical circles of the Third Reich confirms that statement. Philosophically sterile, they are today merely an objective expression of the philosophical consciousness characteristic at that time of a definite social group whose intellectual production met then in Germany with a vast response and fairly wide demand. The pressure of the situation that activated response to the meaning of history affected that group no less ruthlessly than it did other groups. This is proved by the important place occupied in the literature of the subject by the controversy over past German philosophy and the value of philosophical heritage in the politically "transformed" Third Reich.

**To be continued**

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1991 has been a year of scandalous investigations, trials and frame-ups. Some cases, like that of the ANT cooperative, began already in the previous year. Other cases, like that of the August coup attempt, were engendered by the course of events. In all cases public opinion brought in a verdict of guilty or not guilty before the trial.

Early in September a daughter of Anatoly Lukyanov, former chairman of the Soviet parliament, asked **Genrikh Padva,** a 60-year-old lawyer, to act as the counsel for the defence in the case of her father. The lawyer agreed without long hesitation. However, one thing made him feel awkward. During the putsch, on a visit to the United States, he publicly stated that the putschists were criminals. True, Anatoly Lukyanov was not formally a member of the state committee formed by the putschists, and therefore Padva agreed to defend the interests of a high-ranking client.

Almost every other trial in which Padva takes part is featured in the media. The lawyer successfully defended the minister of the Uzbek cotton-cleaning industry, who was accused of bribe-taking. He upheld the rights of a man who hijacked an airliner to Israel. Padva also defended members of the Civil Dignity group (now the Constitutional Democratic Party), who had been prosecuted for participation in an unauthorized rally.

In agreeing to defend Lukyanov's interests Padva was motivated by his convinctions. In his opinion, "a real lawyer must defend a person even if they have different outlooks". Padva meets with his client several times a week. "It is easy to deal with Lukyanov," the lawyer says. "He is not disaccordant and is quick in the uptake." Besides, Padva considers his client "an outstanding personality". Though the lawyer does not share his client's adherence to "the socialist choice," he respects Lukyanov's convictions and allegiance to his views.

Genrikh Padva is deputy chairman of the Union of Soviet Lawyers and vice-president of the World Association of Lawyers. He supports the abolition of death penalty and favours a new interpretation of a crime considered now a "society dangerous" act.

* * *

**Sergei Parfenov,** former deputy commander of the Riga-based unit of the USSR interior ministry special purpose police forces (OMON), was arrested on October 8 in Surgut, Tyumen Region, by officials of the Latvian interior ministry. The Latvian prosecutor's office brought charges against him on three counts under the criminal code: the exceeding of his authority, gangster attacks, and subversive activity. True, two charges were dropped and only the first remains now.

As to the legality of Parfenov's arrest, with Russian authorities interacting in the case, and his deportation to Latvia, there are serious doubts among lawyers and politicians of different shades. "If Parfenov is not returned, we shall have to impose tough economic sanctions against the foreign state of Latvia," says the mayor of Tyumen, where the former Riga-based OMON unit is now stationed, fighting against the local mafia. The latest operation of the unit under Parfenov's command caused a stir in the region. It detained vodka black marketeers and ordered the detainees to uncork all bottles and wash their car with the precious liquid. It is difficult to say how the authorities would react to this action in Latvia. In Russia a similar action can be described as a lawbreaking.

Ever more people are beginning to demand the return of Parfenov to Russia. Moreover, a public committee in his defence has been set up. Tatiana Kuznetsova, a member of the Moscow Association Barristers, has agreed to defend Parfenov in the court.

"We are not going to stage a mass show trial of OMON members," says Jazeps Ancans, deputy prosecutor-general of Latvia. "We shall call to account only those who gave orders, and those who fulfilled them most actively."

* * *

The trials of dissidents have always been based on trumped-up charges. **Vitautas Sviderskis,** a 50-year-old lawyer from Vilnius (we have been unable to receive his photo because of the latest events in Tbilisi), discovered this truth for himself long ago. In the past he more than once defended those who upheld their right to dissent. However, he could not expect that he would again deal with a case reminiscent with frame-ups of the Brezhnev time.

Vitautas Sviderskis was invited to Tbilisi by leaders of the National Democratic Party of Georgia to defend its 31-year-old chairman **Georgy Chanturiya.**

Chanturiya began to engage in anti-Soviet activity in his student years. He distributed leaflets urging people to fight against the empire, for the freedom of Georgia. In 1983 he was arrested and convicted under penal provision 206 of the criminal code of that republic – for the erection of barricades in Tbilisi. Under the same article he was arrested again, incidentally together with Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the current President of Georgia. This took place on April 9, 1989, when Chanturiya was already chairman of the National Democratic Party of Georgia.

Georgy Chanturiya regarded Zviad Gamsakhurdia as his associate. However, after the break-up of the National Congress and what Chanturiya calls "a drastic change in the President's policy," Georgy went over to the opposition. On September 16, 1991 he was arrested again under the same penal provision 206. Amnesty International regards Chanturiya as a political prisoner.

It transpired in the course of investigation that the point about motives of his arrest was filled in later and the charge would be formulated in this way: on September 11, from the second floor of the National Democratic Party headquarters Chanturiya directed the laying of concrete slabs on the roadway with the aim of obstructing traffic. Sviderskis objected by saying that Chanturiya could not be in the headquarters on that day. He attended a meeting of 27 political organizations of Georgia which demanded the resignation of the President. This was confirmed by 70 witnesses. But the court ignored this alibi. However, the accounts of six witnesses for the pro-

secution – interior ministry officers – were recorded in the court. Neither the judge nor the prosecutor came to the last sitting at which the indictment was to be read out. Having waited for four hours, Sviderskis and members of the audience went to the prison where, as it turned out, the last sitting was held. However, he left behind a notice addressed to the chairman of the court: "Please, cable the date of the last sitting."

* * *

At the end of February the board of the USSR Procurator's Office appointed **Yuri Zakharov,** 53, a supervising procurator in the "case" of investigators T. Gdlyan and N. Ivanov. The point is that an independent examination was necessary to study the course and results of the investigation carried out by the Ilyukhin investigation team, which had been appointed to look into the "case" of the rebellious investigators.

Prior to the board's decision Yuri Zakharov read some of the investigation material to become only convinced that there were no reasons for prosecuting the two investigators and it was practically impossible to prove much of what had been collected by the Ilyukhin team.

When reading the first of the 230 files compiled by Ilyukhin, Yuri Zakharov found more support to his conviction: "The investigation team, led by Gdlyan and Ivanov, made errors and ill-judgements in the process of its work. There were also misdemeanours, but not punishable by criminal law."

In Zakharov's opinion, such an investigation had to be carried out nevertheless. After Gdlyan and Ivanov had been removed from the investigation of the "Uzbek affair" the Procurator's Office war piled with complaints containing allegations that Gdlyan took bribes, beat persons under investigation, kept people in custody without any grounds and drove some of them to suicide. The facts brought out during the investigation disproved all these charges.

"The trouble with the two investigation teams is that they had an accusatory trend," Zakharov believes. "But such a trend was determined by the system. Both Gdlyan and Ivanov and the Ilyukhin team revealed a biassed attitude during the investigation."

Yuri Zakharov established, for instance, that the investigators, who are people's deputies, were to blame not for detaining a large number of people. All arrests and imprisonment were justified. But arresting people on charges of bribe-taking, the investigators did not always check from what source the bribe-giver had acquired the money. Nearly 30 million rubles was confiscated, and one can only guess where the money came from.

In Zakharov's opinion, this minor offence by the investigators is not punishable by law. It is a case of a biassed attitude and a retreat from the law. So it made impossible now to continue a judicial examination and pass an objective sentence in many cases. For the same reason many people under investigation would have to be freed then.

Yuri Zakharov understood already in June that there were no grounds to bring Gdlyan, Ivanov and other investigators to trial. However, the investigation was completed at the end of July and the Procurator-General of the USSR saw the final text with Zakharov's findings only a few days before his trip to Cuba. Then a coup attempt was undertaken in August and it turned out that the case against the investigators was dropped only after the putsch. For many people the decision of the Procurator's Office signified a victory for democracy. For Zakharov it meant the completion of sixmonth work on thousands of pages of the manuscript. It is not an easy job even for a criminalist with a 30-year record of work in the Procurator's Office.

* * *

For **Nikolai Anisimov,** 47-year-old assistant of the chief military law officer, who heads the department supervising the actions of the KGB's investigation bodies, 1991 has been a most difficult one over his many years of work. Anisimov conducted the investigation of the Katyn tragedy, and it was publicly declared at last that 15,000 interned Polish officers were shot by the NKVD in the spring of 1941. He dropped a charge against Gen. Kalugin. In his opinion, Kalugin did not divulge state secrets in his statements. Besides, thanks to Anisimov the good name of dissident General Pyotr Grigorenko was restored. A second judicial medical examination held on the initiative of the Military Procurator's Office established that the general, who was declared mentally ill at one time, did not suffer from a psychiatric disorder.

However, the results of the investigation conducted by the Anisimov group do not always coincide with what the "democratic public" expects of it. The "Novocherkassk case" can be mentioned as an example. After a careful investigation into the matter the investigators concluded that there were no grounds for instituting criminal proceedings against the officers who ordered the troops to fire at a peaceful demonstration of workers. And they are prepared to uphold their stand.

Nikolai Anisimov was born into a farmer's family and, according to his own admission, was not going to link his life with the army. However, after the high school he entered "by chance" an anti-aircraft rocket college. He served in the rigorous climatic conditions of the Turkestan military district and, on graduating from an academy, in the Zabaikalsky military district.

"There is much talk now about the abolition of military procurator's offices, the replacement of military by civilian investigators," Anisimov says. "People do not understand the specific nature of our work which requires special education and the experience of military service."

Since the question of military prosecutor's offices has not been decided, Nikolai Anisimov continues to work, and not only on sensational cases. Some time ago, in Severomorsk, a Navy Captain 1st class managed to sell a tank of fuel oil abroad as industrial waste. Anisimov is going to bring an action against him.

* * *

The ANT case has not been dropped by investigators, though it has unfortunately been forgotten by economists and businessmen. The Union Procurator's Office is still investigating the affair connected with the sale of tanks abroad.

Two years ago, on the way to his office, **Boris Pogorelov,** 44-year-old major criminal offences investigator under the USSR Procurator-General, read in a newspaper that the ANT cooperative tried to sell twelve T-72 tanks abroad. An hour later he was charged with the investigation of this affair. According to Pogorelov, it is "the most important and unusual" of all the cases he has examined during 22 years of his work in investigation bodies.

Boris Pogorelov graduated from the Sverdlovsk Institute of Law. He worked as an investigator in the Baltic republics and as a prosecutor in Siberia. In 1987 he was appointed a major criminal offences investigator under the Procurator-General of the USSR. During his professional career Pogorelov several times found himself in situations when he had to drop cases because of the lack of *corpus delicti*. However, he rejects the charges of being soft-hearted.

"First of all, it is necessary to classify the situation. Besides, I resolutely disagree with the widespread opinion about investigators as people who dream only of how to put others behind bars," he says.

Pogorelov goes to bed and wakes up with another thought. He thinks about the case of tanks smuggling.

The investigators have found themselves in a delicate situation. The USSR does not exist any longer while the criminal code of Russia proceeds from the existence of the Union and defence of socialist property. Under what law should the investigation proceed? It is perhaps for this reason that Boris Pogorelov, an investigator, assesses the prospects of the case as "very dim."

*Chi Cagov*

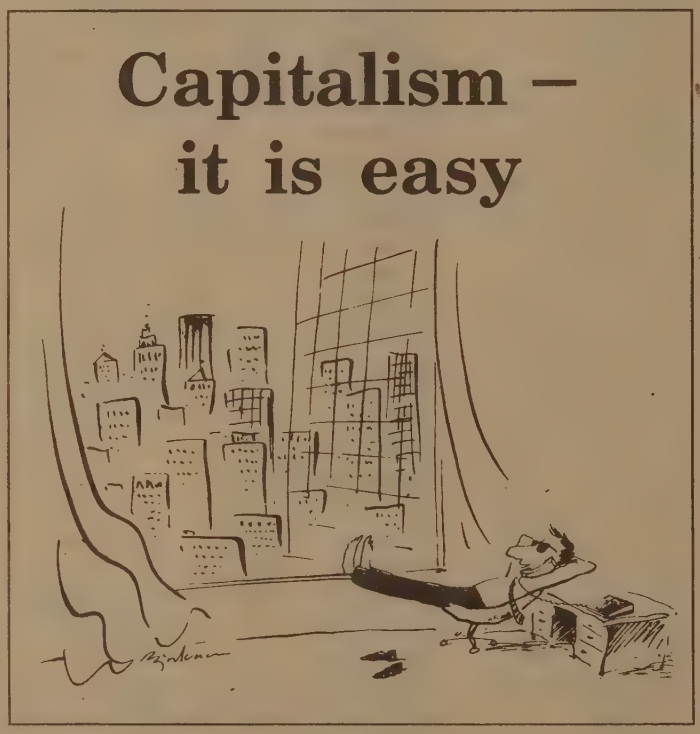
# Capitalism – it is easy

The Soviet children of my generation were "born to make fairy tales a reality." Upon getting to America in the seventies, I looked around me and saw that the fairy tales had come true – in my case, anyway. I communicated this discovery to my Moscow friends right away, who responded to it by suggesting that I take my rose-coloured spectacles off. I did. On closer inspection it turned out that life around me was more exciting than any fairy tale.

Actually, all I am writing about here has been told on more than one occasion to my friends from the former Soviet Union who have visited me in America. Talks with them have provided the basis for this book. Its topicality has been confirmed by the following phrase from Tatiana Ivanova's article in issue No.43, 1991 of *New Times*: "...It is sad to see that so far no intelligent things are told as to how we are to live, become businessmen and get rich. Evidently no one can do that, as even we, the writing folk, are also of local stock and for the time being also have nothing but a smattering."

## Credits

Shortly after my arrival in America, someone suggested that I open a bank account. I called on the nearest bank. They gave me a warm American-style welcome there. They said they would like it to have me as their client but only on condition that I proved my identity. That is to say, they wanted to see at least two of my identity cards with my photographs on them. Such as a driving licence or my credit card at least. That was the first time I heard the term "credit card."



Like everything else under capitalism, the crediting and credit card system is simple. A store, a filling station or just a credit company allow you credit, its limit depending on your solvency which they calcualte somehow (incidentally, on the basis of the information you give them). Having opened a credit account, they send you a plastic card bearing your name, account number and a blank for your signature. Wherever credit cards are accepted, the cost of your purchases and of the services rendered are put on the account indicated on it.

Every month the company which has issued you the credit card sends you a report on your expenses. The report tells you how much of the credit you have used up, and recommends the minimum of your expenses to be defrayed before the end of the month. You may pay out the lump sum, which is a clever thing to do because payments in instalments will include a certain interest agreed upon in advance, and recorded in your application for credit. This interest usually exceeds the bank credit rate.

After you have exhausted the credit, your card will no longer buy you anything. In that case you can use it as soon as you have paid for anything.

This system is not only simple, but convenient as well. You don't have to carry cash, even a checkbook. Theoretically, your credit cards pay all your expenses: food, gas, clothes, car rentals, hotel bills, airline and health resort bills, brothel services...

Another convenience of this arrangement consists in that you can start paying for your purchase within a month of making it. The latent psychological trick is, however, that one is more likely to go on a spending spree if all one has to do by way of paying is to show his credit card instead of shelling out cash. Credit card holders buy more, as a rule.

I didn't know anything about all this when I walked into a bank for the first time. I thought then that bank clients were supposed to carry credit cards and decided to get some. I started with the major credit card companies like Visa and MasterCard. They promptly rejected me on the grounds that their computers had no information on how I honoured my credits. How was I to prove my punctuality? No one had ever given me any credit yet. It was a vicious circle.

A veteran immigrant – a former Soviet citizen – prompted me the way out. I applied for a credit card to a small filling station saying that I would regularly buy gas for my car from it. As a matter of fact, I had neither a car nor even a driving licence the bank had asked me to produce: I couldn't drive yet. The company was not interested in all that, though. Any small business always seeks to broaden its clientelle, so they gave me credit without further ado, and I got my first plastic card.

After that I followed through with the old-timer's recommendations and applied to several other filling stations. Having consulted their computer and satisfied themselves that I had never run up a debt to their competitor, they also issued me credit cards. I took heart and applied for credit to several large shops. Computers kept testifying that I had never been indebted to any of my creditors. After all, it had never occurred to me to buy on credit. So I got more credit cards. Credit card hunting became a sport for me. Half a year later I had tens of credit cards, including those

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A few words about the author. A former Muscovite, and an architect, he holds a scientific degree. Emigrated to the US in 1977. Having worked with a number of companies, he now heads a corporation he himself founded. Chi Cagov is his pen-name.

issued by America's most fashionable stores. For instance, I received credit from a store which sold fabulously expensive furs (which, as I thought then, only millionaires could afford). By that time, however, I didn't have to produce my credit cards at any bank.

Shortly upon being rejected by my first bank, I tried another, smaller one which believed my suspicious Soviet document (an exit visa with my photograph attached to it) and opened all the accounts I wanted for me. A small bank (like a small filling station) welcomes new clients. That was how I gained useful business experience.

I continued to collect credit cards by force of habit. They are just a means by which the mighty Western credit system has penetrated into everyday life and into the budget of the average American family. Being a fragment of that system, credit cards are its graphic illustration. There is hardly a sphere of the capitalist economy which credits have not found their way into. Homes, consumer goods, planes, college instruction, industrial equipment, farm machines, fertilizers, land, factory and office blocks – all this is purchased on credit. Without credits, modern capitalism will not last a day. Without them, the Western economy would not have been as dynamic as it is now: by governing its material and financial resources, credits stimulate their turnover.

Ex-Soviet citizens are wary about credits at first: they fear lest they should plunge too deep into debt. The more "farsighted" and cautious never buy more on credit than they can theoretically afford. As for old-timers, they work real wonders with credits, their "operations" comparable with brilliant manoeuvres by outstanding grand masters of chess. It is due to such financial wizards that the Western economy has achieved the results which we admire today. The credit system plus enterprise is the core of American capitalism.

## Money

The idea of money as a universal equivalent is familiar to us since childhood. Capitalism has learned to use money in such a way that it should answer its purpose. Money is looked upon as a hireling of sorts which has to work for its master non-stop. Therefore no one salts money away at home in America – Americans keep their money in the bank so that it should breed more money: as interest, at least, although this is not the most fortunate way to make a profit.

Money is one of the federal government's sources of profit: it prints money and lends it out. This is done by the Federal Reserve Bank. All the leading American banks borrow money from the Bank at the so-called prime rate. The latter is a vital component of the American finance system. It is not only a means of replenishing the state treasury, but also a regulator of America's financial well-being.

The regulation mechanism is simple enough. Supposing the prime rate is five percent. Having borrowed money from the Federal Reserve Bank at a five-percent interest rate, a local bank puts it into circulation (lends it out to its clients) at a seven-percent interest rate in order to make a profit. If the prime rate is 10 percent, the bank lends out the money at a 12-percent rate. This means that when the prime rate is small, you can borrow money from the bank on the easiest terms. In other words, money costs less in this case, and can be safely invested in long-time operations – involving real estate, for example. When the prime rate is high, however, money should be invested chiefly in quick-paying businesses such as stores selling goods in high demand.

By announcing another change in the prime rate level, the Federal Reserve Bank stimulates businessmen to reassess the profitability of certain deals and thus, in the final analysis, influences the level of business activity in various spheres of the economy. It would have been impossible to pursue such a policy without a ramified network of local banks.

## Banks

No population centre in America, even the smallest one, is conceivable without

a bank building. A small town may have several banks, and in a big city there are tens of them.

Like any business, a bank is after a profit, above all. Money is the commodity it sells. To put it simply, a bank seeks to "buy" money cheaply (not necessarily from the Federal Reserve Bank), at an annual six-percent interest, for example, and to sell it dearly (as, say, credit to a building company) at an annual interest rate of 11 percent. This is what the banks are busy doing. There are many variations within this pattern, of course.

Naturally, the banks put their money where it brings them the highest profit. That is why they always keep up to date with the market situation. By shifting money of various "costs" from sphere to sphere, from one geographical region to another, the banks actively stimulate progress in industry, construction and agriculture. Besides this, the banks promote the growth – or cause the demise – of individual population centres or even whole regions.

Banks are interested in keeping most of their money in circulation so that it should bring them profit. They seek to reduce their lending rates in order to attract buyers. The cuts in interest rates are more than made up for by an increase in the amount of money in circulation.

In their pursuit of high profit, the banks sometimes get involved in risky operations fraught with bankruptcy. Therefore the Federal government takes measures to minimize the danger of banks going broke. Every bank is obliged to take out insurance against robbery or bankruptcy lest the clients should lose their money in any case.

The banks cater to big and small companies and to individuals.

*(To be continued)*

# Russia is bound to become a monarchy...

## Such was Nostradamus' prophecy, anyway

He understood Nostradamus

The writer and astrologer Daniel Ruzo, who had moved to the evergreen town of Cuernavaca, Mexico, some twenty years ago, was one of the world's best known students and interpreters of works by Michel Nostradamus medieval mystic. Some time ago Ruzo circulated a note to the papers saying that the Gulf War had been predicted by Nostradamus back in the 16th century. Sad news came from Cuernavaca recently: Daniel Ruzo had passed away. Enrique Antonio, a Mexican colleague of mine, arranged for me to meet with Ruso's widow, Dona Carola, who keeps her late husband's manuscripts in perfect order hoping to get them published some time. She was so kind as to lend me some of them.

Nostradamus lived at the time (1503–1566) when, as we all know well, certain discoveries or pronouncements were grounds enough to send one to the stake. This is why the scholars engaged in Nostradamus' studies today have to decipher his once coded predictions. Ruzo's library contains about 1,500 manuscripts and works by the medieval mystic and doctor who had foreseen not only the French Revolution but more recent cataclysms as well.

In his *Dedication to the King* (1558) Nostradamus had predicted (to believe Ruzo) the October Revolution of 1917 and its ultimate defeat. He prophessed, with amazing accuracy, that the Bolshevik government ("plotters") would keep in power for no more than 73 years, and that Russia would lose its two main shields in the end. In Ruzo's opinion, Nostradamus meant communism and the empire. After that, the "overthrown monarch" would come back, and "His Majesty" would triumph.

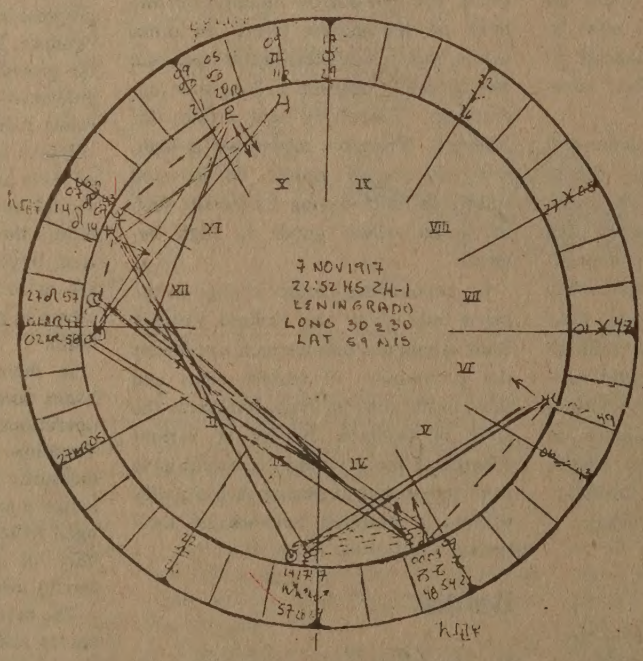
Nostradamus wrote about the fall of a "great wall" which divided people, which Ruzo identified with the notorious installation in Berlin. After that, however, mankind is in for much less joyous developments. To begin with, Nostradamus predicted, the Great One would step aside. The Cuernavaca writer did not comment on that. His widow assured me, however, that Ruzo had linked the phrase with the "withdrawal of the Soviet President Gorbachev from the political scene" which, in his opinion, could occur after the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

After that, things are to go from bad to worse. The great prophet of the Middle Ages promised us a third world war – without specifying the date of its outbreak, however. According to Ruzo, his studies revealed that the war could start any moment. Presumably, it is to be triggered by a naval battle after Arabs attack their neighbours from the sea. What's worse, Russia is to side with the aggressor.

One of the most dedicated Nostradamus' scholars has died, leaving many unsolved mysteries behind. His own life, incidentally, was no less enigmatic: a leader of Peruvian Freemasons, a prosperous businessman, a frequenter of French art salons, he quitted high society in his prime and delved into medieval manuscripts in monastic seclusion in Cuernavaca.

Daniel Ruzo had many disciples one of whom I happened to meet. Victoria Malo shared with me forecasts of our country's near future she had made by means of astrological tables and a computer with "mathematical precision," as she put it.

At the very beginning of 1992 the fate of Russia will be determined, according to Victoria Malo, by interaction among the Sun, the Moon and Pluto. The position of the latter does not augur well for us. Ruzo's disciple does not expect any turbulent developments to ensue, however, but predicts changes in the relationships between the "productive forces" of society (market relations?) which may aggravate the situation in the country. In spring, youth and women's civil-rights movement may liven up. Summer is going to be calm enough. In September, new ethnic conflicts may occur. Nevertheless, Victoria Malo's optimistic conclusion was: wise Mercury (the Russian government?) will keep the situation, no matter how tense, under control. Well, let's hope it will.




Daniel Ruso's disciple: what does future have in store for us?

*Yuri Kudimov,*
our own correspondent
CUERNAVACA–MEXICO

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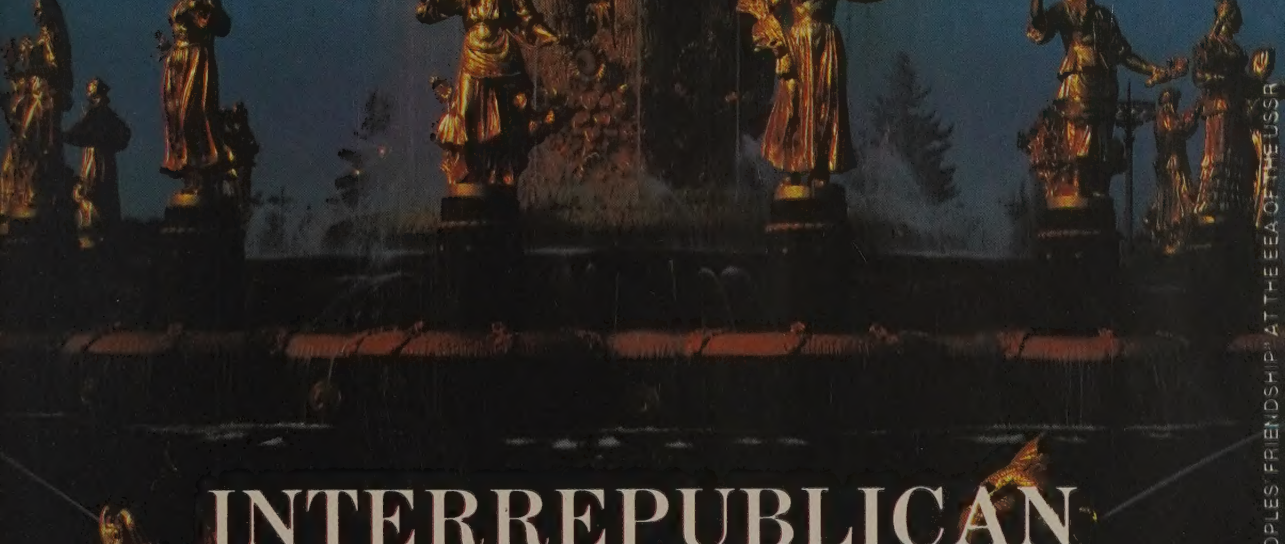

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